

Woman's Journal And Suffrage News

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NEW ENGLAND EDITION

CAN'T HAVE VOTE AND HUSBAND, TOO

Supreme Court Rules Woman
Must Take Alien Husband's
Nationality and Lose Her Vote

An American-born woman who becomes the wife of an alien is still to lose her citizenship and whatever voice in the government she may have, according to a decision of the Supreme Court last week.

The Supreme Court affirmed the decision of the California court interpreting the federal expatriation law of 1907 as constitutionally applicable to women who continue to live in the United States after marrying foreigners as well as those who marry foreigners and live abroad.

The case was brought by Mrs. Ethel C. Mackenzie, who was denied registry by San Francisco election officials because she married a subject of Great Britain.

Gordon McKenzie, it was announced later, however, will, for his wife's sake, renounce his British citizenship and become a citizen of the United States.

GROSS INJUSTICE STIRS CANADIANS

Jury of Men Condemn Woman
for Murder but Acquit Man
for Same Crime

"Before a jury of twelve men at Wetaskiwin, a small town in Alberta, there appeared a woman charged with murder," says the December Sunset Magazine. "She had killed her husband's mistress. This mistress had been living under the same roof in the lawful wife's home until the outraged wife ended the intolerable situation."

"The jury found the wife guilty of murder and the judge sentenced her to be hanged by the neck. There is no record of any punishment inflicted upon the husband."

"Almost at the same time a jury in Cranbrook, Alberta, passed upon a similar case. Returning from work, a mechanic found his house dishonored by a rival and shot the intruder dead before his unfaithful wife's eyes. The jury of twelve men acquitted the defendant. The judge endorsed the acquittal; he expressed the hope that the dead man's fate would help to protect the sanctity of the Canadian home. In the light of these decisions suffrage takes on new meaning. Apparently militant suffragettes are sadly needed to preach the fundamental truth concerning equal rights of both sexes in Canada."

SOUTHERN WOMEN HOLD CONFERENCE

Delegates Go from Richmond to
Washington for National Suffrage Convention

The Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference is in session at Richmond, Va., as the Woman's Journal goes to press. According to dispatches, prevention of war and how to win votes for women are receiving attention.

Needed: The Woman's Point of View



She—Your interest in politics is strong because it touches your purse. Mine is strong because it touches the heart.

They Pay But Are Not Consulted

The most elaborate program of expenditures ever asked of an American Congress in times of peace was submitted last week by the national administration. It proposes a total outlay of \$1,285,857,808, or \$170,853,614 more than was appropriated last year. Among the proposed expenses are the following:

- More than \$363,000,000 for the military and naval branches.
- More than \$160,000,000 for pensions.
- More than \$104,000,000 for "public works."
- More than \$10,000,000 for Indian Affairs.

The money for all of these and other expenditures will be raised by taxation, and women will have to pay their share. Stamp taxes and import taxes, excise taxes and income taxes, there is never any question of women's responsibility in government, when these are due.

The money for this budget is raised with the help of women; but when it comes to the question of spending, women in thirty-six States of this nation have nothing to say. They have to ask by proxy for the things which are dear to their hearts; and the result is that the total appropriation for the Children's Bureau will be less than \$185,000 and only \$17,000 more than the amount of last year, while "Indian affairs" are scheduled to have one million dollars more than they had.

How much or how little the votes of women would change the appropriations is not the question. The issue is one of simple justice.

Women are asking Congress today for a square deal. If they pay at the gate, why should they not be admitted?

After the election of officers, many delegates will go to Washington to attend the National Suffrage Association's Convention.

Mrs. Sara Halley, of Atlanta, represents The Woman's Journal at the Southern States Conference. She will attend the National Convention at the Capitol as the Southern representative of The Woman's Journal.

FIRE PERIL FACES SCHOOL CHILDREN

New York Too Poor to Provide
Adequate Protection for Thirty-Five Schools

In thirty-five public schools of New York City children are housed at their daily peril. These children are by compulsory education laws sent out from their mother's care. Any one of these thirty-five school

buildings may become another fire-trap as the Pittsfield parochial school, where twenty-one children lost their lives.

These buildings have wooden stairways above the first floor, which are either not enclosed at all or are shut off with wooden partitions. They have been reported as unsafe by the fire commissioner, but the city cannot afford to remedy their defects.

NATIONAL MEETS IN WASHINGTON

Big Convention Received by
President — Closes Tomorrow
with Great Mass Meeting

Throughout this week the delegates to the forty-seventh annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association have been sitting in Washington. They were received and welcomed by President Wilson at five o'clock Tuesday afternoon in the big East Room of the White House, and at ten o'clock Wednesday morning were given a hearing before the Woman Suffrage Committee of the United States Senate.

A similar hearing on the nationwide amendment took place later in the week before the House Judiciary Committee.

Features of the convention were the campaign conference led by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, a Congressional conference led by Mrs. Medill McCormick, and reports from next year's campaign States, Iowa, West Virginia and South Dakota.

All the sessions took place at the New Willard Hotel, with the exception of the one big mass meeting of the convention, which is scheduled for three o'clock Sunday (tomorrow) afternoon, Dec. 19, at Poli's Theatre. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw will preside. Other speakers will be: Dr. Katharine Bement Davis, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and Dudley Field Malone. In former years mass meetings have been held on several evenings during convention week, but this year it was felt that the general public of Washington, D. C., were not in need of public suffrage meetings, and that the regular business of the convention would require all the time of the delegates.

A full report of the convention will be given in next week's Woman's Journal.

1,000 SUFFRAGISTS MEET PRESIDENT

Columbus Women Send Bouquets and Say They Support
Nation-Wide Amendment

President Wilson visited Columbus Dec. 10 to deliver two addresses and attend a public reception in the rotunda of the State Capitol. Columbus suffragists sent the President a large bouquet of roses after he arrived at his hotel. With the roses was a card saying the suffragists supported the nation-wide suffrage amendment.

About 7,000 people were received by the President, and 1,000 of those who passed down the reception line were suffragists.

Mrs. Frank B. Willis, wife of Ohio's Governor, was at the head of the suffrage delegation. She gave President Wilson a bouquet of yellow roses and white lilies of the valley, representing the suffrage colors.

I favor equal suffrage.—Dr. R. H. Jesse, former president of Missouri University.

CHINESE WOMEN ISSUE MANIFESTO

Teachers Lead Movement to Arouse 200,000,000 Women to Interest in Affairs of State

Miss An Shiang-sun of Peking, China, and twenty-eight of her supporters, chiefly school teachers, have issued a manifesto urging the women of China to participate in the movement to restore the monarchy.

The manifesto says, in part: "According to the constitutional compact, the sovereignty of the country is vested in the people of the whole country. The people of the whole country naturally means the people of both sexes. Of the 400,000,000 people half are women. If we let the men alone promote this movement not only will the movement be incomplete, but it will seem that men alone are entitled to rights that belong equally to women. If our women do not understand the importance of this it may be due to sheer ignorance; but if some of them understand, yet remain inactive and indifferent to the movement, they will be guilty of neglecting their duty to the country."

"We admit that the intelligence of the mass of our women is still at a very low standard, but they have the same interest in the country and have the same desire for the safety of their person and property as the men. Why should we women remain passive without raising a hand to support the movement? Being women, we are of frail constitution and limited education, yet we have been deeply concerned with the unsettled conditions of the country and cannot but express our anxiety for its welfare. It is sincerely hoped that the 200,000,000 women of this country will awaken to the importance of their duty and follow the lead of the patriotic men by petitioning the government for the restoration of a monarchy."

DENY DEMOCRACY BASED ON ARMS

Gen. Wood's Assumption that Only Fighters Should Vote Severely Criticized by Press

With woman suffrage advancing its radiant golden banners, says the Springfield Republican, Gen. Leonard Wood marches some way behind the procession when he argues in behalf of conscription: "A real democracy rests upon our universal manhood suffrage, and manhood suffrage means manhood obligations and service. No true democracy that refuses to recognize this principle can live through times of stress and strain." At best it is not very good logic to argue that only the sex which provides fighters should vote; there are plenty of questions to be settled that have nothing to do with fighting, and the issue of peace or war is seldom settled by vote. But even this limping logic is straight and sound in comparison with turning the proposition about and arguing that the sex which votes is under a general obligation to perform military service. The fallacy lies in the false assumption that "manhood obligations and service" is identical with obligations to military service—a fallacy which woman suffrage will make the more glaring. There are many kinds of service, and a democracy needs them all.

The Suffragist's Spoon River

(With apologies to Edgar Lee Masters)

By Mary Katherine Reely

PETER KESTER



FOR years I was opposed to woman suffrage.

I thought the idea was preposterous;

Women were too flimsy, too weak, too untrustworthy

To be endowed with the privileges of the ballot.

And all the time, though I did not know it,

I was basing my conclusions on my mother, who was a nagger,

My Aunt Henrietta, a gossip, and my sister-in-law,

Who reads cheap novels and neglects her house and her children.

Then by the grace of God, or a miracle of good luck

Of which I am all unworthy,

I married Sally Clayton, who has more sense in her two little

fingers

Than any man I know has in the whole of his body.

And I changed my tune and began to say woman's voice was needed in government.

Thereby I learned this truth, which I give to you, my brothers, in confidence:

Whenever you stand up in public and open your mouths on the subject of Woman

You reveal the intimate secrets of you own home and family.

MRS. DANIEL RITCHIE



WHEN Dan was killed in front of a switch engine on a side track,

And I was left with the six children to feed, clothe and care for,

Herm Jarvis, County Commissioner then, came around to the house

And talked about the poor farm and a State institution for the children.

I rose in my wrath and pointed, and said, "Do you see that door?" He went through it quick as a flash.

Well, you needn't ask me how I did it—but 'twas done!

And there were six of them to be fed, clothed and kept in school.

And I got two of the boys graduated and at work for themselves,

And one of the girls through with a domestic science course and able to look after the others

Before I up and died of overwork and slow starvation.

And let me tell you one thing, Herm Jarvis, after he went to the Legislature

And began making speeches against women voting,

Never came around to me with his talk about poor, weak women And their need of men's strength to rely on!

He knew which side of the door I'd show him!

They're trying to get a law now, they say, that'd give help to widowed mothers like I was.

Herm, I understand, voted against it.

MRS. LYMAN C. COLE



MARY LORD BENNET, one of the best women

And mother of the finest family that ever grew up in our town,

Was always urging me to join the suffrage society. But I only laughed and said I was just a home-body,

I wasn't interested in politics,

I'd look after my children and leave the rest to the men folks.

And I meant it, too, and thought if I gave the best of myself

To the girls and to Harold, I'd be doing all of my duty.

Mother-love, I thought, was the force that ruled the world.

What need had I of the ballot?

Then I woke from my rose-colored dream

To find that Harold, my first born—

Not somebody else's son, but mine—

Had taken to gambling and drinking—

All because there was no pretence of enforcing the law against selling liquor to minors.

Neither my tears nor my prayers were of any avail,

And I learned too late that mother-love can be helpless

When it has no control over the environment

In which the loved one must grow up to manhood.

PEACE MEMBERS ARRANGE PLANS

Party Will Proceed from Christiania Direct to Hague and Meet Other Delegates

Tentative plans for the itinerary and preliminary procedure of Henry Ford's party of peace advocates were announced last week. At Christiania, Norway, the party will remain three days, and Norwegian delegates will be selected.

A special train will be dispatched to Stockholm to transport Swedish

delegates, and another special train will bring Danish delegates from Copenhagen.

Later the party purposes going to The Hague by rail provided Mr. Ford can obtain permission to pass through Germany. He will agree to a non-stop trip if the Germans will grant permission to traverse the country.

At The Hague, Dutch, Spanish and Swiss members are expected to join the party, and with their arrival permanent organization will be attempted with a view to bringing peace.

WOMAN LEADS IN HEALTH CONTEST

Miss Tate, Who Wins Directorship of Tuberculosis Board, Has Notable Record

Miss Edythe L. M. Tate, who recently made the highest grade in an examination with ten contestants participating, thereby winning the position of director of the tuberculosis bureau of the State Board of Health of California, was at one time special investigator of the Russell Sage Foundation and also special agent of the United States Immigration Commission, says the San Francisco "Argonaut."

Later she was employed by the United Charities of Chicago to investigate sociological conditions in the stockyards. As a State organizer in Wisconsin for the Anti-Tuberculosis Association, she secured the passage of nine laws. Recently she has been the executive secretary of the California Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis.

PAGEANT CLOSES UNION MEETING

Convention of Congressional Union Interviews Congressmen and Pledges \$41,000 for Campaign

The convention of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage closed Dec. 13 with a brilliant pageant of the life of Susan B. Anthony at Convention Hall, in Washington. At a big mass meeting at the Belasco Theatre last Sunday more than \$41,000 was pledged to finance the Union's campaign.

The sessions of the convention were held at the "little White House" at Madison Place opposite the White House. Business meetings were held Dec. 8, 9, 10 and 11, at which reports from the State branches of the Union, the national organizers and committees were given.

On Dec. 9 every delegate and every available suffrage worker went to members of Congress individually and urged upon them the passage of the nation-wide suffrage amendment.

The Sunday mass meeting was called in honor of Miss Frances Jolliffe and Mrs. Sara Bard Field, the two envoys who motored across the continent carrying the petition to Congress for a suffrage amendment.

Senator Sutherland of Utah and Representative Mondell of Wyoming were among the speakers.

"It gave me peculiar pleasure to introduce in the Senate the so-called Anthony amendment," said the Senator. "I should not be surprised to see it adopted in the Senate by the necessary two-thirds vote, for even in that conservative body we are gradually gaining ground."

Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont led off with a pledge of \$10,000; the District of Columbia, \$5,000; Pennsylvania, \$5,000; Ohio, \$5,000; New York, \$3,000, and Minnesota \$2,000.

Four hundred persons took part in the pageant, which is said to have cost about \$5,000 and consisted of ten historic episodes depicting the dramatic life of Miss Anthony, and five symbolic friezes.

The pageant was an innovation in the art of pageantry because

SUSAN B. ANTHONY DONE IN BRONZE

Medallion Has Relief of Leader Presented by Sculptor to National Convention

The historical department of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, D. C., has just accepted and placed on view a bronze medallion bas relief of Susan B. Anthony, done by Michael Jacobs, a painter and sculptor of note residing in that city.

The bas relief, which is of the school of Rodin, is a noteworthy example of the present tendency in sculpture, which is to keep the relief as low as possible. The relief on the medallion of Miss Anthony is only one-fourth of an inch high. As a compliment to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, of which Miss Anthony was president from 1892 until her death in 1900 Mr. Jacobs had cast a second copy of the bas relief, which was formally presented to the National Association during its convention this week.

SUFFRAGE VOTE SHOWED INTEREST

Bay State Official Figure Say 91% of Vote for Governor Was Brought Out

Official figures on the Massachusetts election of Nov. 2 show that 91.28 per cent. as many votes were cast on the suffrage amendment as were cast for Governor. The total number of votes cast for Governor was 502,082. The total number of votes recorded on the suffrage amendment was 458,317.

The vote by counties on the amendment was as follows:

	Yes.	No.
Barnstable	1,109	2,700
Berkshire	5,341	10,499
Bristol	11,783	23,444
Dukes	195	528
Essex	21,159	40,122
Franklin	2,178	4,184
Hampden	11,261	18,125
Hampshire	2,702	6,737
Middlesex	36,584	61,531
Nantucket	101	404
Norfolk	9,982	17,697
Plymouth	7,497	13,886
Suffolk	35,249	59,067
Worcester	17,474	36,778

Totals 162,615 295,702

On the last page of the official program of the National Convention is inscribed this quotation from Arnold Toynbee:

"Languor can only be conquered by enthusiasm, and enthusiasm can only be kindled by two things: an ideal which takes the imagination by storm, and a definite, intelligible plan for carrying that ideal into practice."

it depicted for the first time the life of an individual instead of interpreting the life of a community or a social idea.

Patronesses of the pageant include Mrs. Christian Hemmick, Mrs. George O'Dell, Mrs. G. Brown Miller, Mrs. Henry Blount, Mrs. Morven Thompson, Mrs. Barret Ridgely, Mrs. Robert Peary, wife of Rear Admiral Peary, U. S. N.; Mrs. Richard Wainwright, Mrs. Robert Baker, Mrs. Henry Macfarland, Mrs. Appleton P. Clark, Mrs. Theodore Noyes, Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, Mrs. Henry Graves, wife of the chief forester; Mrs. C. B. Sigbee, wife of Rear Admiral Sigbee; Mrs. Clara D. Nealy, of Neighborhood House; Mrs. George Sutherland, wife of Senator Sutherland; Mrs. Reed Smoot; Mrs. William M. Borah, Mrs. Thomas J. Walsh, Mrs. Frank W. Mondell, Mrs. Reeve Lewis and Mrs. Henry Ashurst, wife of Senator Ashurst.

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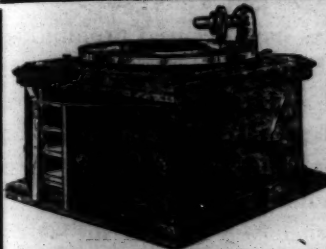
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THE VOTERS' TOAST

By O. R. Washburn, in the Maryland Suffrage News

In a smoky bar-room back-room sat four voters, very gay; They were filling up with liquor in their usual happy way. One was Sam, who owned the building; one was Jim, who tended bar;

One was George, who owns a sweatshop and a splendid motor car; One had several lady boarders. It's of interest to note That they always shared in politics and helped get out the vote.

Sam was feeling very happy. "I shall now get rich," said he; None of those half-crazy women with the vote can bother me; This triumph of the antis is the news that I would choose, For it guarantees my income from the profits on the booze."

Jim was smiling and complacent: "In this business I will say, Thank God we had the antis helping us election-day! Now I push the glasses lively, nothing better do I seek Than the welfare of the women and my payday every week."

George expressed his happy feelings: "I hire children, several score, Each of them adds to my profits two good 'bones' a week or more. Now the women will not bother if I cut their pay a bit; You can guess our friends the antis with my crowd have made a hit."

Red Light Jerry drank and murmured: "Now the women are ruled out I can do a bigger business and no one will raise a shout. I have fixed the ward boss plenty, the policemen see me not; I will get some more young ladies now to go with those I've got."

Then they filled the glasses fuller, and they rose and drank a toast To the States that beat the suffrage plan and helped them all the most; Drunkenly they stood and shouted, tossing far the beer's deep foam. As they drank to all the ladies who had helped them save the home.

SAYS WOMEN WIN BY MORAL FORCE

London's Head Police Woman Proves Superiority of Feminine Method to Brute Strength

Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, former chairman International Council Press Committee, recently answered this statement as follows:

"The International and National Councils of Women were organized in 1888 at Washington, D. C., by Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, May Wright Sewall and other leading suffragists. All of the prominent women, who, during the past twenty-seven years have held office in the International Council, and that of the United States, have been advocates of woman suffrage. At the beginning, however, it was thought best, in order that all kinds of organizations might come in, not to make this a part of the platform. The constitution provided that no standing committee should be formed except by consent of a majority of the National Councils from the different countries, these being composed of organizations for many purposes. During the international presidency of Mrs. Sewall she submitted to the councils in all parts of the world the question whether they were ready for a standing committee on Woman Suffrage. It is her recollection that every one except that of Argentina answered in the affirmative. Therefore, at the third International Council meeting—in Berlin, in 1904—this committee was formed with Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, chairman, and she has continued to hold the office. A branch national committee was formed in each country.

"At every congress of the International Council the largest of the mass meetings is the one for woman suffrage. A strong resolution in favor of it is always adopted at a business session. At the last meeting in Rome—May, 1914—with twenty-three countries represented by very capable delegates, this resolution was passed unanimously.

I am in favor of woman suffrage because there are no women of my acquaintance who are not at least as patriotic, as intelligent and as enthusiastic for good and efficient government as any men of my acquaintance. — Dudley Field Malone.

"The first Congress of the International Council was held in Chicago during the Columbian Exposition in 1893, and was practically a suffrage meeting from beginning to end. The United States Council, of course, officially endorsed woman suffrage before the Berlin Congress and has done so since then. If there is anything in its constitution forbidding this, it has been put there very recently. Mrs. Dodge says her organization has been a member of the Council only three years, and possibly she does not know its past history, but if she is to make any further official statements concerning it, it seems advisable that she should inform herself."

The School Voters' League of Boston, of which Mrs. George W. Coleman is president, met last week and voted to support the candidacy of Miss Frances G. Curtis for the school committee. It is the custom of the league to meet just before election and endorse one candidate.

Among other things the league asked for were equal pay for men and women teachers, equal pay for equal work, and smaller classes.

Cambridge women will not be permitted to vote for chairman of the school committee, who is also mayor, according to a decision last week by Judge Pierce of the Massachusetts Supreme Court.

There are no "arguments" against woman suffrage, though there may be prejudices a-plenty. —Ferdinand H. Graser, of Philadelphia.

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SATURDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1915

THE NATIONAL OUTLOOK

The National Convention of this year is not finished as the Woman's Journal goes to press, but it promises to be one of the most important and most useful in the history of the National Association.

Never have the suffragists come together with such a history of achievement behind them. More votes were cast for equal suffrage this year than in any year since the movement began. For the first time, a huge breach has been made in the opposition in the East. While no State was carried, all four of the States that voted upon the question in 1914 gave a large vote for suffrage than they gave for the Republican party at the last presidential election. The vote stood: Massachusetts, suffrage vote, 162,615; Republican vote, 155,948; New York, suffrage vote, 514,198; Republican vote, 455,428; New Jersey, suffrage vote, 133,282; Republican vote, 88,835; Pennsylvania, suffrage vote, 385,348; Republican vote 273,505.

Nor is the growth only at the East. Never before did the suffragists come to Washington with so strong a backing from the South. The Legislatures of Tennessee, West Virginia and Arkansas have given majority votes of both houses for suffrage amendments. Among the women, the progress of sentiment is still more rapid, and we have just had three marked instances of it, happening one after another. The Florida State Federation of Women's Clubs lately passed a resolution in favor of woman suffrage by a vote of 100 to 5. Two years ago such a resolution failed even to get out of committee.

The Texas State Federation a few days before had passed a like resolution by a two-thirds majority, and the Louisiana State Federation has just done so by a unanimous vote. A Louisiana woman says that two years ago the women were afraid even to discuss it.

The movement is now truly national; and it is international as well. In Europe this year two new stars have been added to the suffrage flag, Denmark and Iceland. On all sides the tide is rising. From every point in the compass the forces are converging upon Congress, and the end of the long road is in sight. A. S. B.

VOTES FOR HEROINES

When the Anglia sank, with her load of wounded soldiers, the nurses refused to put on the life-preservers. They said, "Wounded men first!" In England people are saying that such women must not be left disfranchised after the war.

In the wreck of the Titanic, when chivalrous men gave the women the boats, it was perverted into an argument against equal suffrage, on the ground that chivalry was enough for women, and they had no need of votes.

This time it was the women who showed chivalry. The incident brings out clearly the fact that chivalry is not a question of voters or non-voters; it is a question of the stronger looking out for the weaker, and giving them the first chance for life.

If heroism gives a right to the ballot, after this war women of all the nations involved in it will be able to "read their title clear." They have shown their full share of the courage, and borne their full share of the burden and

suffering. When the smoke of battle has cleared away, let us hope that the men of all nations will act upon Abraham Lincoln's principle, when he said, "All those should share in the privileges of the government who assist in bearing its burdens . . . by no means excluding females." A. S. B.

GUILTY OF MURDER

A large number of babies have lately died in Nashville, Tenn., and the deaths were traced to bad milk. The like epidemics are constantly happening, now in one city, now in another.

In a recent address Dr. J. E. McCulloch, general secretary of the Southern Sociological Congress, protested strongly against calling such disasters a visitation of Providence. He pointed out that the community was responsible for letting bad milk be sold. "We are all together guilty of murder," said Dr. McCulloch. "If we attribute the results of our neglect to God, we are also guilty of blasphemy!"

"If there ever was a crime in history," continued Dr. McCulloch, "it is the crime of society in allowing conditions to exist that are equivalent to poisoning thousands of children in this country every year. Do you know that every day there is an average of 685 babies die in the United States? And the larger number of these deaths are due to causes that we know how to prevent."

"Some time ago I spoke in a church in South Carolina. The pastor asked the congregation to pray for a child that was dying near by. I found out that the illness of the child and other children there was due to bad milk. When it came time for me to speak I told the people that I was not inclined to pray for the child. I told them that I felt like praying to God to forgive us for allowing the child to be poisoned. What we need to do is to stop the sale of bad food and bad water."

The purity of the milk supply, of the water supply and of the food supply is controlled by government regulation. Dr. Harvey W. Wiley says that if there were no other argument for woman suffrage, the better enforcement of the pure food laws would be reason enough. A. S. B.

COLORADO AND TEMPERANCE

We resume this week the review of "The Case Against Woman Suffrage," by George R. Conroy.

Mr. Conroy declared that "the liquor interests have nothing to fear and the temperance interests nothing to expect from votes for women." Last week we pointed out that Washington, Oregon and Arizona adopted State-wide prohibition soon after adopting equal suffrage, and that in each State the result was attributed to the women; also that California granted equal suffrage in 1911, and that by 1915 the number of no-license towns had risen from 200 to 690.

The women of Colorado got the ballot in 1893. Within four years the number of no-license towns in the State had quadrupled, and it kept on growing. When a constitutional amendment for State-wide prohibition was defeated in 1912, Ellis Meredith, the head of Denver's reform Election Commission, and a strong advocate of the dry policy, wrote in The Woman's Journal of Nov. 16, 1912: "It is because under our local option law conditions are so good and dry territory increasing so fast that many people feel we shall come nearer regulating the traffic in this way than by so-called total prohibition." Ellis Meredith also stated that by far the largest part of Denver was dry, saloons being rigorously kept out of the residence districts and limited to a small section of the city.

In 1914, State-wide prohibition was adopted. Both its friends and its enemies attributed its passage to the women. The organ of the Denver brewers says that Colorado made a great mistake when it gave women the ballot. A. S. B.

IN IDAHO AND UTAH

The women of Idaho got the ballot in 1896. The number of no-license towns grew till in 1914 there were only 190 saloons in the State (Anti-Saloon Year Book for 1915). In January, 1915, a prohibition law was passed by the Legislature, and in November a constitutional amendment for State-wide prohibition was adopted by popular vote.

In Utah, in 1911, 87 cities and towns voted dry and 23 wet, and the number of dry towns has increased since. The Anti-Saloon Year Book for 1915 says: "The State is really dry, with the exception of its two largest cities, the mining and railroad camps and one residence town." A State-wide prohibition law was passed by the Legislature of 1915, but was vetoed by the Governor.

THE CASE OF ILLINOIS

The experience of Illinois is of especial interest, because in that State the men's and women's votes are cast

in separate ballot boxes and it is possible to see just how the women vote. They have voted dry much more generally than the men.

For instance, at the election held in Illinois on April 7, 1914, in Rockford, 5,155 women voted dry and 1,048 wet; 4,480 men voted dry and 5,155 wet; in Bloomington 3,806 women voted dry and 2,311 wet; 2,655 men voted dry and 3,896 wet; in Freeport 2,890 women voted dry and 1,877 wet; 1,984 men voted dry and 2,867 wet; in Pontiac 1,137 women voted dry and 364 wet; 768 men voted dry and 797 wet, and so on.

According to the official returns published in the Chicago Tribune of April 22, 1914, in all 121,315 women voted dry and 67,418 wet, while 144,925 men voted wet and 98,179 dry. Of the women 64.3 per cent. voted dry and 35.7 per cent. wet; of the men 59.7 per cent. voted wet and 40.3 per cent. dry.

Out of 329 townships voting there were only 20 where a majority of the women voted wet, and in all of these the majority of the men voted wet also, so that the women's vote made no difference in the result. Among these hundreds of cities and towns there was not one where the women's vote turned the scale in favor of license; and there were 96 where it turned the scale against license.

The Anti-Saloon Year Book for 1915 says: "Of the 1150 saloons that were closed, 900 were closed on account of the majorities found in the women's ballot boxes." And it adds: "The woman's suffrage bill has proved to be the most valuable piece of temperance legislation the State has enacted" (Page 135). A. S. B.

ONE HAND OR TWO?

Mr. Conroy is so little of an expert on the temperance question that he says only five of the suffrage States have prohibition. There are six—Washington, Oregon, Arizona, Idaho, Kansas and Colorado.

He says that twelve States have secured prohibition without equal suffrage. There are now fourteen; but eleven of them are Southern States, where a strong factor in the case was the wish of the white people to keep liquor from the negroes. In a few Northern States temperance sentiment is so strong that prohibition has been carried even without the women; but both the liquor people and the temperance people believe that it would be carried more easily and held more securely with the women voting. If an apple hangs low, you may be able to gather it with one hand. If it hangs high, you need two. These difficult far Western States could hardly have been carried without the help of the women's votes. So in Illinois, some of the towns went dry on a vote of the men alone, but in other more difficult towns it took the votes of both men and women to do it. A. S. B.

THE TEST OF EXPERIMENT

Mr. Conroy quotes Dr. Anna H. Shaw as saying: "I contend that we should not answer our opponents when they argue along these lines, because facts as to the results of equal suffrage, or the number of women who want suffrage, or the reasons they ought to want it, have no bearing on our question." Mr. Conroy gives no authority for this alleged quotation. If Dr. Shaw ever made the remark, she doubtless did it in the spirit in which the Hon. William Dudley Foulke said:

"We talk too much as if this question depended upon how women were going to exercise the right when they have it. What should we men think if we were told that we could have the ballot provided we would vote in the way that somebody else might think was right? Would not our indignant answer be, 'It is none of your business how I vote; that matter I will determine for myself!'"

Mr. Foulke said this in his address at the annual meeting of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in Washington twenty-five years ago. It is preposterous for Mr. Conroy to claim that suffragists are saying it now because experience has gone against them. All down the years there has been an occasional explosion of this kind from some indignant suffragist who believed the matter to be at bottom one of simple equality and felt that the opponents were doing what one of George W. Cable's characters says that the people in Louisiana do—they certainly do it in many other places—putting the question second that ought to come first, their first question being expediency and their second divine justice. And then the indignant suffragist—Dr. Shaw, or Mr. Foulke, or whoever it may be—generally proceeds to array the overwhelming evidence that equal suffrage has proved itself expedient in the opinion of almost all those who have had practical experience of it.

Instead of refusing to argue on that question, the National Association and its affiliated societies have been circulating vast numbers of tracts bearing such titles as "The Test of Experiment." For every one witness that the anti-suffragists can quote, we can quote a

(Continued on page 404.)

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WOMEN REGISTER FOR SCHOOL VOTE

Boston Reports 2,080 Increase in This Year's Number of Women Registered

Registration of women for the school elections in Massachusetts has increased greatly over that of last year, and reports from elections have shown a large number at the polls. In Boston 11,043 women registered this year, as against the 8,963 in 1914, making an increase of 2,080 over last year. Returns from the election this week had not been received when The Woman's Journal went to press. Cambridge figures showed a registration of 8926 women, a gain of 2,023 over the record figure of last year. In Salem there were enrolled 990 women, compared with 853 last year. The number of men voters, however, showed a decrease from 7,277 to 6,757.

More than 1,000 women in Haverhill turned out to vote in the contest for school committee. The Springfield Republican says of the election in Springfield: "Probably the most significant feature of the women's vote was the fact that it almost reached their total registration."

NEW HAMPSHIRE

The Manchester Union says that "the vitality and persistence of the suffrage movement in New Hampshire is given fresh emphasis by the opening in Manchester of a State headquarters with a permanent secretary in charge. The opening of this central office is but the initiation of a campaign which, it is announced, will be carried on continuously until the right to participate in elections is vouchsafed the women of the State."

"Every year sees new converts by the thousand. Steadily the citadels of prejudice are falling, and the crust of tradition broken through. No longer are the opponents of woman enfranchisement able to summon arguments to defend their attitude. The fact there is no real argument which can be maintained against equality of the sexes in control of a government, under which both are expected to live, has become so apparent that the championship of the anti-suffrage position is left to selfish interests which fear the effect of women participating in elections upon their own affairs."

NEWS FROM NEW ENGLAND STATES

MASSACHUSETTS

A thorough-going enrolment campaign was begun by the Boston Equal Suffrage Association last week, not only for new members, but for the names of all women who believe in equal suffrage. The Association has decided to move into new headquarters at 167 Tremont street, near Mason street, on Jan. 1. The whole second floor has been taken, including a large room on the front, with a fine outlook on the Common for a lunch room, the back room for the kitchen, a front side room for a clubroom and a room for an office. They propose to serve luncheon and afternoon tea and to offer an agreeable and convenient place for members to meet. The luncheon and tea in connection with headquarters, it is believed, will be the means of bringing many more women to a consideration of suffrage.

The Massachusetts Association will keep its present headquarters, adding the old Boston office. It has seemed a wise plan to have two suffrage centres, with one of them in the business section.

Neighborhood suffrage meetings are to be inaugurated in all parts of Boston. These will be small and informal for the indifferent neighbors, and a few suffragists will be invited to come and talk things over and answer questions.

A class in civics along the lines of the Civics Committee of the Massachusetts Federation of Women's Clubs and a suffrage class will be opened in January. These classes will give preparation for citizenship and familiarity with arguments for and against suffrage. There will be no charge for the suffrage class nor for the evening class in civics.

If there is sufficient demand for an afternoon civics class one will be formed at a charge of \$2 for the course of ten lessons. All who wish to join any of these classes are invited to communicate with headquarters.

RHODE ISLAND

The statement that the defeat of suffrage amendments in other States is argument enough to kill the campaign in Rhode Island is attributed to Republican State leaders, and has called forth protests from Miss Elizabeth Yates, honorary president of the State E. S. A., and Mrs. Jerome M. Fittz, corresponding secretary. Miss Yates showed that the recent nominal defeats were really great victories. She said, "The flippant dismissal of the question by the prophet of the program of the General Assembly of 1916 must learn that if this issue were buried in the Pyramid of the Cleopas and the Sphinx put on top of it, it would rise in all the power of immortal truth to greet the morrow's sun."

Mrs. Fittz declared: "I beg all political potentates to summon the instinct of justice and let the 'Vox' of half the 'populi' be heard."

Massachusetts sent Rhode Island a splendid acquisition in the person of Mrs. William Adams, who a short time ago moved from Lawrence. Mrs. Adams at once, as she says, "dressed in her best" and started out to call on her neighbors and invite them to her home for a suffrage tea. Her efforts have resulted in the organization of a remote portion of the State, hitherto untouched.

Mrs. John A. Cross, a society woman of Rhode Island, was hostess at last week's suffrage tea at headquarters.

Mrs. N. Thomas and Mrs. Caroline Dowell conducted a very successful rummage sale last week. It is worthy of note that while one large division of the members was dining at the suffrage banquet and another section was enjoying a suffrage bridge whist, these two women were vending cast-off clothes in a poor section along the river front.

Miss Elise S. Topanelian of Worcester, Mass., corrects the statement in The Journal of Nov. 20 that the school opened at 38 Church street, Boston, for the instruction of foreign-born women is the first school of its kind in the country. A school for this purpose was opened Jan. 11, 1914, in Ledge street, Worcester.

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(Continued from page 402.)

score. A fair sample is the evidence published in the New York Survey of Oct. 23, 1915.

The Survey is one of the leading philanthropic journals of the country, a sort of unofficial organ of the National Conference of Charities. The editor sent a circular letter to all his subscribers in the suffrage States, asking how woman's ballot worked. He got 634 answers, of which only 15 were unfavorable.

Those replying included bishops and college presidents, lawyers and ministers, officers of mercantile clubs and of the Y. M. C. A., commissioners of public works, librarians, social workers, members of Child Labor Commissions and superintendents of schools. A good many said that they had been opposed until they saw its practical results. The editor says:

"Seldom has The Survey had, on any subject, so many hearty, whole-souled, eager responses to an inquiry." He adds: "Not one reports any evidence of the breakdown of home life as the result—a point of particular interest to the many Survey readers whose main task is the conservation of the family."

This is the most extensive investigation made since Mrs. Julia Ward Howe took a census of ministers and editors in the oldest four suffrage States in 1910. She got 624 answers, of which only 62 were unfavorable.

MORE WOMEN WANT VOTES

Mr. Conroy says that most women do not want to vote. A great many more women favor suffrage than oppose it. Mrs. Julia Ward Howe wrote:

"In every State where petitions for suffrage and remonstrances against it have been sent to the Legislature the petitioners have always outnumbered the remonstrants, and have generally outnumbered them fifty or a hundred to one. If the suffragists are a minority of women, it should always be remembered that the remonstrants are a much smaller minority."

In Chicago 104 societies, with an enormous aggregate membership of women, petitioned for municipal woman suffrage, while only one very small society of women petitioned against it.

In Massachusetts ever since 1895 the Anti-Suffrage Association has been diligently gathering signatures of women opposed to suffrage, and in twenty years it has only accumulated the names of a little over 36,000 women, according to its own figures. The Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association, at the last meeting of its organization committee, had an enrolment of more than 85,000 women, with seven counties yet to hear from. Not only do these names outnumber those of the anti association more than two to one, but the great bulk of them were obtained in a much shorter time; for it is only of late years that the suffragists have begun to enrol names without a membership fee.

DOUBTFUL NAMES

Mr. Conroy says the suffrage list includes aliens and minors. It has not been customary to enroll either, and if a few such are included, they must be very few. On the other hand, we have nothing but the word of the antis for their claim that all their signers are citizens and over 21 years of age. There is every reason to believe that not all of them are even antis. Mrs. Grace Nevitt, a well-known Boston newspaper woman and a suffragist, says that she was asked to sign as a token of her interest in Red Cross work, and was amazed to find afterward that her name had been enrolled among the antis. She added that she had a great deal of trouble in getting her name taken off their list. Nobody knows how many more such cases there may be.

ANTIS ARE FEW

But, even taking their own figures, the women who protest against suffrage are very few compared with those who ask for it. The widely advertised National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage claims a membership of only about one per cent. of the women of the United States.

The suffrage movement in this country maintains four weekly papers and half a dozen monthlies; the anti-suffrage movement maintains only two monthlies and one quarterly, and all the activities of the women in favor and those opposed are on the same relative scale.

So far as the evidence goes, the vast majority of women in the United States either favor suffrage or do not object to it.

"ORGANIZED OPPOSITION"

Mr. Conroy says: "The woman suffrage movement is the only movement for the extension of the electorate that has ever met with organized opposition from those it was proposed to enfranchise."

Large numbers of agricultural laborers in England were organized within the Conservative party to oppose

their own enfranchisement. Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch says she well remembers attending in England a great political dinner got up by the Conservative party, where the seats at one of the tables were occupied wholly by agricultural laborers. After dinner their spokesman, first touching his forelock with the deferential gesture of a peasant, declared that he and his fellows did not want to vote, and preferred to leave the government of their country to "the gentry."

HAVE ALWAYS BEEN ANTIS

Women did not organize to oppose the equal rights movement in its earlier stages simply because in those days it was looked upon as unwomanly for women to organize or even to belong to a temperance society. But there have always been many women, who opposed every new departure.

When a merchant in Saco, Me., first employed a saleswoman, the men boycotted his store, and the women remonstrated with him earnestly on the sin of placing a young woman in a position of such "publicity." When Lucy Stone tried to secure for married women the right to control their own property women asked with scorn, "Do you think I would give myself where I would not give my property?" When Elizabeth Blackwell set out to study medicine some women refused to speak to her; others, passing her on the street, held their skirts aside. When Vassar College was opened, a woman of more than average education voiced the prevailing sentiment when she said: "The very fact that it is called a 'college for women' is enough to condemn it. Of one thing we may be sure: no refined Christian mother will ever send her daughter to Vassar College!"

In eastern countries, where women are kept veiled and shut up in zenanas, women are among the strongest upholders of these traditional restrictions, which they have been taught to think add to their dignity. The Chinese lady is as proud of her small feet as any American anti-suffragist is of her political disabilities. When a progressive Hindoo proposes to educate his little daughter, Pundita Ramabai tells us that often the women of his family threaten to drown themselves.

Every improvement thus far made in the position of women has been brought about, not by a demand from the majority of women, but through the arguments, entreaties and "continual coming" of a persistent few. The demand for suffrage today is far more widespread among women than was the demand for any of these other improvements before they became accomplished facts. A. S. B.

WHOSE FIGHT?

Mr. Conroy says this "is not a fight between men and women. It is a fight between women." If it were only a fight between women, Mr. Conroy would have no excuse for mixing in with it. But it has all along been a struggle between progressive men and women on the one side and conservative men and women on the other.

AS TO STRAW VOTES

Mr. Conroy says that the suffragists in Massachusetts objected to taking a straw vote of the women on the question. The suffragists objected just as strenuously to taking a straw vote of the men.

The only legal way by which suffrage can be granted is by a vote of the men in the form of a constitutional amendment. The opponents were eager to substitute for the constitutional amendment a straw vote—any sort of a straw vote—because it would have no legal validity and would give the women nothing if it went in their favor. They introduced three such bills, one for a straw vote by men alone, one by women alone and one by men and women together. The suffragists opposed them all, and for the same reason—because they did not want to have an ineffective vote substituted for an effective one.

In the Legislature of 1913, to which Mr. Conroy refers, the leaders of the opposition made their main fight for a straw vote by men alone, and most of the members of the Legislature who voted to have a straw vote of any kind voted to make it a straw vote by men alone.

On the only occasion when a State Legislature ever did take an official straw vote of men and women on the question (in Massachusetts in 1895) the leading antis circulated among women pledges to vote no and to get other women to vote no. Apparently they met with poor success, for they changed their tactics, and three days before the close of registration, the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women published an appeal to the women who were opposed not to register and not to vote.

For years these ladies had been declaring that if they were ever given the right to vote upon an important question they should feel it their duty to do so. They preferred to go back upon all their professed principles rather than reveal the fewness of their numbers by standing up to be counted.

The suffragists are said to be afraid to let the women vote upon the question. They are the only people who are not afraid to let the women vote upon it with authority. When the women have suffrage, if the majority do not like it they can at any time repeal it. Yet people are urged to vote against it on the ground that once granted it would be "irrevocable." This certainly implies that, whether women want it now or not, if they once had experience of it, they would never consent to give it up. A. S. B.

NEW KIND OF DEMOCRACY

Mr. Conroy says that it would be "undemocratic" to grant women the ballot while the majority are either opposed or indifferent. Julia Ward Howe wrote in answer to this argument:

"It is one thing to be opposed and quite another to be indifferent. The accepted principle of majority rule is that a question should be decided according to the wish of the majority who care enough about it to express a wish. The indifferent do not count. On the suffrage question, the vast majority of those women who care are in favor. This has been demonstrated wherever the matter has been brought to a test."

Only a few of the most undemocratic State constitutions now count every man who fails to vote for an amendment as voting against it; and these States find themselves practically unable to carry any amendment whatever, no matter how slight the opposition. Everybody except the most extreme reactionaries condemns the principle of counting as opposed all the men who do not care one way or the other; yet this is the principle that the anti-suffragists want to apply in the case of women, and they have the nerve to call it democracy! A. S. B.

SUFFRAGE AND TAXES

Mr. Conroy says: "Every woman taxpayer gets for her taxes what every male taxpayer gets—public improvements and protection of life and property."

But she has no vote as to what kind of public improvements she prefers to have. Mrs. B. B. Valentine, President of the Equal Suffrage League of Virginia, tells how the women of a certain city petitioned for a playground. Their request was refused on the ground that the city treasury was empty. Soon after, a number of merchants petitioned for the installation of ornamental street lanterns, and a large sum was appropriated for the purpose. When Philadelphia was in desperate need of better school accommodations, and these were held up for want of money, the City Fathers voted \$50,000 to entertain the Elks. Mr. Conroy says: "The woman taxpayer is represented by all the male taxpayers of the community, because they cannot represent themselves without representing her." But they can—and often do.

Now, as to "protection of life and property"—she may have a decided choice as to who shall administer that protection, but she has no say about it. In some cities the police notoriously protect crooks and grafters rather than the citizens. The woman must help pay their salaries, whether she is satisfied with their work or not.

"WOMEN AND MINORS"

Mr. Conroy says minors are taxed without being allowed a vote. Minors are not allowed to control their own property, they cannot make a will or a contract, they may be shut up in dark closets and subjected to whipping and other ignominious punishments without trial by jury; but that did not justify the old law which for centuries barred married women from the control of their property, forbade them to make a will or a contract, and authorized their husbands to lock them up and beat them. Minors are subject to many legal disabilities which it would be grossly unfair to impose on full-grown women.

There are good reasons for excluding aliens and non-residents from suffrage; but, except where a good reason can be shown to the contrary, everybody is entitled to be consulted in regard to his own concerns; and his taxes are one of them. This applies to indirect, as well as direct, taxes, and has nothing to do with a property qualification, as Mr. Conroy unwarrantably implies.

SUFFRAGE STATUS

States Where Women Have Full Suffrage—Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Washington, California, Kansas, Oregon, Arizona, Nevada, Montana, Alaska. Presidential and Municipal Suffrage—Illinois. States Which Vote On Question in 1916—Iowa (June 5), South Dakota, West Virginia. State Which Votes On Question in 1917—Arkansas. State Where Amendment Has Passed One Legislature and Must Pass Another—Tennessee.

JERSEY GRANGE GOES ON RECORD

Patrons Endorse Equal Suffrage Again Less than Two Months after Election

The New Jersey State Grange again went on record Dec. 9 at its convention in Atlantic City as endorsing woman suffrage, and the women members pledged themselves to work for the cause. The granges in 20 States, in addition to the National Grange, have recorded their endorsement of woman suffrage.

"I believe that a mother has a right to make the conditions and laws which are to govern her offspring," said Evangelist Minzes at a recent revival service in Des Moines, Ia., "and I believe that the American woman is soon to be given the vote, and when she has it we will drive the saloons out of this country in a short time."

Dr. Lillian J. Martin, professor of psychology at Stanford University, was recently named to succeed Dr. Frank Angell as head of the department of psychology. Dr. Martin will be the first woman ever placed in charge of a department at Stanford.

You can't expect decency, long life or culture on the average wage paid to women workers in this country, \$400 a year.—Dr. Duren Ward, Denver, Col.

ILLINOIS

A budget committee of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association has been formed, composed of Mrs. John Gray, Mrs. Harriette Taylor Treadwell and Miss Jennie F. W. Johnson.

Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, who has been identified with Chicago's public schools for fifty-three years—the last six years as superintendent—retired last week at the age of 71. Mrs. Young plans to leave for Southern California, where, with Miss Laura Breton, who has been her companion for years, she will establish a home.

PENNSYLVANIA

Mrs. Charles E. Martin of Wayne was elected chairman of the Delaware County Woman Suffrage Executive Committee unanimously at a meeting at Media Dec. 6, succeeding Mrs. J. Claude Bedford, who declined a re-election. Mrs. Bedford, the retiring chairman, is completing her third year as the head of the county organization.

Vice-chairmen were elected as follows: Mrs. J. S. Harvey, of Radnor; Mrs. Joseph Hill Brinton, of Media; Mrs. George E. Brinton, of Thornbury; Mrs. George G. Worrell, Ogden; Mrs. William E. Brown, Chester; Miss Ruth Verlinden, Darby; Mrs. William D. Craven, Jr., Ridley Park; secretary, Mrs. Lewis D. Altmaier, Lansdowne, treasurer, Dr. Ellen MacMurray, Chester.

Mrs. J. Osborne Hopwood of Secane was elected leader for the Second Legislative District, with Mrs. Jesse Holmes of Swarthmore assistant. The delegates decided to begin at once to carry the fight for suffrage into the districts, and candidates for the Legislature will be asked to pledge themselves for woman suffrage.

HOW MRS. BOLTON WAS REPRESENTED

By Ruth Harl

Mrs. Bolton accepted the brightly-colored dodger with reluctance.

"I really am not interested in suffrage," she said, coldly, to the woman with the yellow badge pinned across her breast.

The other smiled patiently. "But we women benefit by the government. Don't you believe we should share in the burdens of running it?"

"I have my home," replied Mrs. Bolton, "and my first duty is there. I will let my husband and sons represent me when there is voting to be done."

"But," persisted the suffragist, "do they represent you?"

Mrs. Bolton's eyes flashed indignantly. "Certainly they represent me. I know they would be glad to vote as I told them to. The influence of a good mother is far better than the ballot."

"I am glad that you have such devoted sons," replied the suffragist. "But I hope that you will be with us some day."

As Mrs. Bolton continued on her way she crumpled the scorned rainbow dodger in her hand and tossed it into the gutter.

In the days that followed, Mrs. Bolton continued along the even tenor of her way. If she thought of the suffragist she had met upon the street corner at all, she thought of her pityingly, as a disappointed woman. And mingled with that pity was a pride in her own home, her husband and two sons. What did she need of the ballot? Her life was filled to overflowing in her home. And besides, if she should ever become interested in a political issue, would not her boys represent her? Was not her mother's influence better than any ballot invented by man? She assured herself that it was.

She had never expected her theory to be put to the test, but when that time did unexpectedly arrive, she had no fear as to its applicability.

An agitation upon the wet and dry question had been sweeping the country, and one morning Mrs. Bolton awoke to find it a vital issue in her home city. So, for the first time in her existence, she took an interest in the coming election.

During the preliminary campaign she said very little, as she felt she had no cause to worry. For would not her boys vote as their mother would wish them to? Knowing that their mother felt the saloon a menace to the city, would they not use their votes to oust the evil? Most assuredly they would. So, in a practical manner, she would demonstrate to those misguided suffragists how unnecessary was the ballot to a good mother and home woman.

At the breakfast table the morning of election day Mrs. Bolton broached her request; assured in her heart that it would be gladly carried out.

"I trust you are all going to vote for a dry town," she began, smiling brightly above the coffee urn.

The three men exchanged surprised glances.

"Why, mother, I didn't know

you were interested in politics," parried Mr. Bolton.

"I never have been before," she admitted. "I have always felt that politics was a business problem that a man understood better than a woman. But the saloon is different. It affects all of us, and I feel that it ought to go."

"And you are asking us to vote against the saloon?" queried her husband.

"Yes. I always knew that if I ever did become interested in some political question, you and the boys would represent me." This was said with great pride.

"Of course we represent you," replied Mr. Bolton, tolerantly. "But don't you think you should leave it to our judgment as to the best manner in which you should be represented?"

Mrs. Bolton looked at her husband dazedly.

"What do you mean—that you are going to vote for the saloons?"

"I have considered the matter carefully, and I believe that is the best thing to do."

"Can't you see, mother," broke in her oldest boy, earnestly, "it means dollars and cents to the city? Think how our taxes would be raised without the license money from the saloons! It's business to keep them."

The hot blood of shame flushed Mrs. Bolton's cheeks, and she turned for comfort to her youngest son, her baby, who that day was to cast his first vote.

"And you, Ralph, you will represent your mother," she begged.

A look of distress came into his face.

"I can't, mother, I can't," he blurted out. "I agree with father. I think the city needs the saloons. If I voted against them, I'd lie. And I couldn't do that. You know I couldn't do that." There was a world of pleading in his voice.

There was a moment's silence; then Mrs. Bolton spoke slowly, as though her mind was feeling its way through a fog:

"No, Ralph, you could not do that; you could not vote a lie. You do just what you feel is the right thing for you to do."

Nothing further was said about the matter. Soon the meal was finished, and Mrs. Bolton was left with her thoughts. At first her mind was a chaos. She could not think. But gradually, as she sped about her work, certain inherent truths began to take shape in the fog of her mind. After all, had she a right to ask them to represent her; to register her convictions at the polls at the expense of their own? Was not democracy an individualistic matter, each individual representing himself, or herself? She recalled Ralph's words: "If I vote against my convictions, I'd lie." His words answered her question. Each individual must hold a vote. In that manner only could all be represented.

Then her thoughts turned to the issue at stake, the abhorred saloon. How she longed to do something! But her hands were tied. And the three she loved most in the world were voting against her. She did not blame them. They were following their own convictions; they viewed the issue from a business side only,

Lecturers, Speakers, Readers, and Organizers Doing Suffrage Work Should Register at the Journal Desk During the National Convention

The Journal is preparing a directory of lecturers, speakers, readers and organizers so that it can give correct information to the many suffragists who want it. The name and permanent address of every speaker, lecturer, reader, worker and organizer doing suffrage work, as well as a general idea of terms and data concerning previous suffrage work is wanted. Where speakers' dates are arranged through a lecture bureau, the name and address of the bureau should also be included.

This information will be at the service of suffrage organizations and suffragists at all times and without charge, either to organization or speakers, lecturers, readers, organizers or workers. In this connection, however, The Journal wishes to call attention to the value of its Suffrage Exchange, or classified column, to those desiring to work for suffrage. The rate is two cents per word per week.

Speakers, organizers, etc., can fill out information cards during the National Convention at The Woman's Journal desk on the convention floor of the New Willard.

To hold the ground gained this year and make more converts for 1916 requires a great deal of educational work. "Make this a suffrage Christmas" is the slogan. By using the Journal as a Christmas gift

YOU GIVE SOME FRIEND

52 weeks of stirring suffrage editorials by Alice Stone Blackwell. All the latest news and facts about the woman movement for a year, and You make another "efficient suffragist."

AND YOU SAVE

all the bother of Christmas shopping. No embroidery or fancy work to do. No worry at the last minute to be sure everything is right; all you need do is write a letter to the Journal.

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and it was natural they should do so. But, oh, how the world needed the home in government, too! If the women could only help with their humanitarian viewpoint, how much better the world would be! She recalled the little suffragist she had met upon the streets so many months ago. How inane the words she had then spoken now seemed to her! The scales had fallen from her eyes at last. She was with them. She was a suffragist. A moment later she turned her steps cityward, a happy smile lighting her face. She was on her way to enroll herself with the soldiers upon the firing line.

Justice, simple justice, is what the world needs.—Lucy Stone.

Woman Under the Law

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Suffrage Exchange

I AM AN EDUCATED MAN and know suffrage. Am a good writer. My employer will remove me if I write for suffrage, so I want to change occupation. Will some suffragist buy, improve and stock a small farm and sell to me at liberal advance and 8 per cent. interest, nothing down and seven years' time? Then I can and will work, write and speak for suffrage. Will give a good business trade. Address "U," care Woman's Journal. (52)

SUFFRAGE SUPPLIES.

WORKING WOMEN National Women's Trade Union League stands for self-government in the work shop through organization and also for the enactment of protective legislation. Information given. LIFE AND LABOR working women's magazine 10c a copy Mrs. Raymond Robins, President. Headquarters 100 W. Washington St., Chicago. (50)

HELP US to dispose of our 1000 Suffrage Cook Books. \$1.00 per copy. \$1.10 prepaid, mailed to any point. Every recipe guaranteed. Equal Franchise Federation, 3046 Jenkins Arcade, Pittsburgh, Pa. (47)

WANTED—To communicate with woman of resources or those industrially acquainted with women of resources who is deeply interested in national success of Equal Suffrage, with view of obtaining co-operation in inaugurating unprecedented, self-supporting plan of action. Positively practical, original and exclusive in both conception and execution. References furnished if desired. Correspondence strictly confidential. Address ETHERGRAPH, care of Editor Woman's Journal and Suffrage News, Boston. (51)

THE MAN AND THE WOMAN—A delightful book suffragists should read. Order your copy now. Postpaid \$1.50. Address, E. A. Stewart, Jenifer, Ala. (Mr. Stewart is member Alabama Legislature and friend of equal suffrage.—Editor.) 72

SITUATIONS.

NOTICE! NOTICE!—15,000 men and women will get U. S. Government Jobs this year. \$15.00 month. Vacancies. No layoffs. Short hours. Common education sufficient. "Full" unnecessary. Write immediately for free list of positions now obtainable. Franklin Institute, Dept. 2124, Rochester, N. Y.

EVERYBODY THERE EXCEPT MOTHERS

Jersey Anti-Suffrage Politicians Do Not Want Women's Advice on Schools

In a city of New Jersey, which was peculiarly unwilling to grant women the vote, the Board of Trade has just held a session to consider whether it wishes to recommend the Gary plan of education to its public school system. For its better instruction it invited an expert to come and talk to the men who make up the board.

This board is composed of local business men, a real estate agent, a dealer in coal, a young man recently graduated from high school who has fallen heir to the editorship of the weekly paper. Some women who are principals of grammar schools in the city wanted to hear the expert, too. Some of the mothers of the city whose children will be affected by changes in educational plans also wanted to attend this session. But the Board of Trade, which was almost identical in its personnel with the leaders of the anti-suffrage campaign in that city, decided it did not want the co-operation of either teachers or mothers in order to decide upon the kind of educational plans the city should adopt—it only wanted voters.

COLLEGES ALIVE OVER SUFFRAGE

National League Reports Help that Educational Institutions Gave Recent Campaigns

In connection with the national suffrage convention in Washington this week, was held the annual council meeting of the National College Suffrage League. There were morning and afternoon sessions of the council, and a subscription luncheon at 1 o'clock at which the president, Miss M. Carey Thomas, presided.

The branches of the league are of two classes,—chapters, which are established in colleges and universities, and leagues, which are established in cities. These are not grouped by States, as in the National American Woman Suffrage Association, but are directly connected with the central organization. Not only do the big eastern women's colleges, such as Bryn Mawr, Vassar, Wellesley and Mount Holyoke have chapters of the college league, but they are established also in many of the co-educational universities and colleges, such as Oberlin, Wisconsin and Western Reserve. The full list of college chapters is as follows: Barnard, Bryn Mawr, St. Lawrence, Mount Holyoke, Milwaukee-Downer, Nevada, Oberlin, Ohio State, Radcliffe, Randolph-Macon, Swarthmore, Syracuse, Vanderbilt, Vassar, Wellesley, Wells, Western College, Western Reserve, Wisconsin.

The branch leagues, established in cities throughout the country, whose members are college graduates, are in number about equal to the college chapters. The largest of these is in Boston with 692 members. New York has 400 members, and Washington has the third league in size, with over 200.

The college world as a whole has taken a more prominent stand for suffrage during the present year's campaign than it has hitherto. The association of colle-

FOUR YEARS' GROWTH



The Political Party: "My, how you have grown in four years!"

THE PARTIES AND 1916

When the Republican and Democratic national conventions meet next June, they will find equal suffrage a very different matter from what they did at their last conventions.

At the presidential election of 1912 the States in which women voted controlled 37 electoral votes. At the next presidential election, not counting Iowa, which will vote on the question next June, the States where women now vote control 91 electoral votes, or more than New York and Pennsylvania combined. Six additional States—Arizona, Kansas, Oregon, Illinois, Montana and Nevada—have given women the right to vote for President since the election of 1912. If Iowa enfranchises its women, as the political prophets predict she will do, 13 more electoral votes will have been added to the strength of the cause.

More than a million votes were cast for suffrage in four Eastern States last fall. In the face of the constantly increasing strength of the movement, will either party dare to go before the voters next fall without having given its endorsement?

The Democratic and Republican parties can no longer ignore votes for women. The time has come for them to act.

giate alumnae at its biennial convention held in San Francisco, August 14-19, passed a resolution favoring suffrage by a vote of 247 to 19. President Burton, of Smith College, and President McCracken, of Vassar, have thrown the weight of their influence in its favor, and a majority of the Princeton faculty voted for the suffrage amendment in the recent New Jersey election. Harvard, Columbia, Cornell, the University of Pennsylvania and many other colleges took a prominent part in the campaigns, and a large representation from both students and faculty of those colleges marched in the great processions that were held in Boston, New York City, and Philadelphia.

We can have no real peace without democracy, and no democracy without women.—F. W. Pethick Lawrence.

POLITICAL WOMEN ENDORSE WILSON

Women's Democratic Club Eager for Vote to Help in Party's Campaign

The Women's Democratic Club of New York, though not active politically at this time, is eager to resume activity if President Wilson runs again, says Mrs. John Sherwin Crosby.

"We shall do our best to re-elect him," said Mrs. Crosby after the regular monthly meeting of the club at the Hotel Astor last week. "Wilson has shown himself to be the man of the hour. He has shown himself to be something more than a schoolmaster."

The women of the club have endorsed equal suffrage and want to vote. They know that they could do more to help their party if they had the ballot.

WHAT ABOUT BRITISH WOMEN?

(From an Editorial in the London Herald)

There are those who say: "This is not the time." They said it before war. They say it during the war. They will say it after the war. But when justice is to be done, every time is the time. We used to be told that neither party could make a government measure of a proposal on which both parties were divided within themselves. But now we have a coalition government—precisely the unique condition to which that objection cannot apply!

Principle and opportunity do not often go hand-in-hand. They go hand-in-hand today in this matter of woman suffrage. Our rulers have a unique opportunity to heal a running sore in the body politic, to prevent the recurrence of internal strife; above all, to prove the sincerity of their own constant speech in praise of liberty and self-government. We hear that our honor is pledged to recover the boon of self-government for Belgium—that for that end no sacrifice of our life, happiness, prosperity is too much. Yet our governors do not lift a little finger to confer that boon on our own woman-kind. Are the men of Belgium, then, so much more to us than our own wives and mothers and

daughters and sisters? Thousands of men have been drawn from their homes, have been sent into the fighting-line, have been slain or wounded, in the name of liberty. They went because they believed that their country did indeed stand for liberty. They have fought and suffered and died for the sake of liberty. Were they mistaken? Were they misled? Are they to be betrayed in the hospital and in the grave? Are we after all this effort and sacrifice to go back to the old struggle for the elements of equality at home? The vote is not everything; in the eye of some it is not much; men with votes, though far better off as a whole than voteless women, are tyrannized over and exploited. But in the eyes of those who have no votes, and in the eyes of those who, having them, can combine and direct them to the end desired, the vote is a means to much and a symbol of more. There are many injustices we have to remedy in the British Empire, and the subjection of women is one of them. Let the men and women who have lost those dear to them look to it: if we cannot have justice and liberty and equality at home, our heroic dead will have died in vain.

LAST LAUGHS

"My younger daughter," said Mrs. Twickembury, "is very talented. She can sing solos, duets, triplets, or quadrooms."

Pessimist: "You haven't had all that you wanted in life, have you?" Optimist: "No; but I haven't had all that I didn't want, either."—Brooklyn Life.

"The car I use today I've been using steadily for six years. It has taken me to my office in town and back, and it hasn't cost me one cent for repairs yet." "What a record! What car is it?" "The street car."—Boston Transcript.

As a truly polite nation the French lead the world. A Paris dentist's servant opened the door to a woe-begone patient. "And who, monsieur," he queried in a tender tone, "shall I have the misery of announcing?"

The Angel
"Woman's an angel,
Peerless, divine;
Man is her servant,
Home is her shrine."

John Flaners always spoke these words

On hearing people say
That woman's present status
Might be changed in any way.
But when you pinned him down
and asked
If he used words as you did,
You found that from the angel
class
Some women were excluded.

First: those who disagreed with him
On theories or events.
Were not divine or peerless,
They were "sexless termagants."
All girls who worked in factories
He did not quite condemn,
But he called them "restless
drudges"
And bestowed no shrine on them.

In fact, the only ones who came
Within the angel state
Were mild, handsome, sheltered
women
Not much over twenty-eight.
Yet certainly he would have made
A most tremendous fuss
If you had asked him to amend
His little statement thus:
"Woman's an angel,
Home is her shrine.
(This only applies to
One woman in nine)."

—Alice Duer Miller in N. Y. Tribune.

On November 2d, the very day when the voters of the Empire State were relegating its women to another two-year struggle for political liberty, the metropolitan daily papers announced that ground had just been broken on the banks of the Hudson River at 93rd Street and Riverside Drive for a heroic statue of Joan of Arc.

"Convert the women and get your election district leaders to become acquainted with the election district leaders of the different parties," was the advice which Mrs. Raymond Brown gave to the members of the William Lloyd Garrison Equal Rights Association at a meeting last week at the home of Mrs. Henry Villard in New York City. "We have found in watching

at the polls that while the men said they were keeping us out of politics, we were there, and they really liked it."

Turkish women are attaining a greater degree of freedom during the war. The Turkish ministry of posts, telegraphs and telephones announces that women are to be employed in the money order departments of the postoffices. They must be not less than 17 years old and unmarried. Damascus reports the opening of a girls' school.

It is reasonable to infer that the demand of men and women voters can bring about better conditions than the vote of one sex alone.—Vice-President Marshall.

Woman's Journal And Suffrage News

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SATURDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1915

FIVE CENTS

CAN'T HAVE VOTE AND HUSBAND, TOO

Supreme Court Rules Woman
Must Take Alien Husband's
Nationality and Lose Her Vote

An American-born woman who becomes the wife of an alien is still to lose her citizenship and whatever voice in the government she may have, according to a decision of the Supreme Court last week.

The Supreme Court affirmed the decision of the California court interpreting the federal expatriation law of 1907 as constitutionally applicable to women who continue to live in the United States after marrying foreigners as well as those who marry foreigners and live abroad.

The case was brought by Mrs. Ethel C. Mackenzie, who was denied registry by San Francisco election officials because she married a subject of Great Britain.

Gordon McKenzie, it was announced later, however, will, for his wife's sake, renounce his British citizenship and become a citizen of the United States.

GROSS INJUSTICE STIRS CANADIANS

Jury of Men Condemn Woman
for Murder but Acquit Man
for Same Crime

"Before a jury of twelve men at Wetaskiwin, a small town in Alberta, there appeared a woman charged with murder," says the December Sunset Magazine. "She had killed her husband's mistress. This mistress had been living under the same roof in the lawful wife's home until the outraged wife ended the intolerable situation."

"The jury found the wife guilty of murder and the judge sentenced her to be hanged by the neck. There is no record of any punishment inflicted upon the husband."

"Almost at the same time a jury in Cranbrook, Alberta, passed upon a similar case. Returning from work, a mechanic found his house dishonored by a rival and shot the intruder dead before his unfaithful wife's eyes. The jury of twelve men acquitted the defendant. The judge endorsed the acquittal; he expressed the hope that the dead man's fate would help to protect the sanctity of the Canadian home. In the light of these decisions suffrage takes on new meaning. Apparently militant suffragettes are sadly needed to preach the fundamental truth concerning equal rights of both sexes in Canada."

SOUTHERN WOMEN HOLD CONFERENCE

Delegates Go from Richmond to
Washington for National Suffrage
Convention

The Southern States Woman Suffrage Conference is in session at Richmond, Va., as the Woman's Journal goes to press. According to dispatches, prevention of war and how to win votes for women are receiving attention.

Needed: The Woman's Point of View



She—Your interest in politics is strong because it touches your purse. Mine is strong because it touches the heart.

They Pay But Are Not Consulted

The most elaborate program of expenditures ever asked of an American Congress in times of peace was submitted last week by the national administration. It proposes a total outlay of \$1,285,857,808, or \$170,853,614 more than was appropriated last year. Among the proposed expenses are the following:

- More than \$363,000,000 for the military and naval branches.
- More than \$160,000,000 for pensions.
- More than \$104,000,000 for "public works."
- More than \$10,000,000 for Indian Affairs.

The money for all of these and other expenditures will be raised by taxation, and women will have to pay their share. Stamp taxes and import taxes, excise taxes and income taxes, there is never any question of women's responsibility in government, when these are due.

The money for this budget is raised with the help of women; but when it comes to the question of spending, women in thirty-six States of this nation have nothing to say. They have to ask by proxy for the things which are dear to their hearts; and the result is that the total appropriation for the Children's Bureau will be less than \$185,000 and only \$17,000 more than the amount of last year, while "Indian affairs" are scheduled to have one million dollars more than they had.

How much or how little the votes of women would change the appropriations is not the question. The issue is one of simple justice.

Women are asking Congress today for a square deal. If they pay at the gate, why should they not be admitted?

After the election of officers, many delegates will go to Washington to attend the National Suffrage Association's Convention.

Mrs. Sara Halley, of Atlanta, represents The Woman's Journal at the Southern States Conference. She will attend the National Convention at the Capitol as the Southern representative of The Woman's Journal.

FIRE PERIL FACES SCHOOL CHILDREN

New York Too Poor to Provide
Adequate Protection for Thirty-Five Schools

In thirty-five public schools of New York City children are housed at their daily peril. These children are by compulsory education laws sent out from their mother's care. Any one of these thirty-five school

buildings may become another fire-trap as the Pittsfield parochial school, where twenty-one children lost their lives.

These buildings have wooden stairways above the first floor, which are either not enclosed at all or are shut off with wooden partitions. They have been reported as unsafe by the fire commissioner, but the city cannot afford to remedy their defects.

NATIONAL MEETS IN WASHINGTON

Big Convention Received by
President — Closes Tomorrow
with Great Mass Meeting

Throughout this week the delegates to the forty-seventh annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association have been sitting in Washington. They were received and welcomed by President Wilson at five o'clock Tuesday afternoon in the big East Room of the White House, and at ten o'clock Wednesday morning were given a hearing before the Woman Suffrage Committee of the United States Senate.

A similar hearing on the nationwide amendment took place later in the week before the House Judiciary Committee.

Features of the convention were the campaign conference led by Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, a Congressional conference led by Mrs. Medill McCormick, and reports from next year's campaign States, Iowa, West Virginia and South Dakota.

All the sessions took place at the New Willard Hotel, with the exception of the one big mass meeting of the convention, which is scheduled for three o'clock Sunday (tomorrow) afternoon, Dec. 19, at Poli's Theatre. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw will preside. Other speakers will be: Dr. Katharine Bement Davis, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and Dudley Field Malone. In former years mass meetings have been held on several evenings during convention week, but this year it was felt that the general public of Washington, D. C., were not in need of public suffrage meetings, and that the regular business of the convention would require all the time of the delegates.

A full report of the convention will be given in next week's Woman's Journal.

1,000 SUFFRAGISTS MEET PRESIDENT

Columbus Women Send Bouquets and Say They Support
Nation-Wide Amendment

President Wilson visited Columbus Dec. 10 to deliver two addresses and attend a public reception in the rotunda of the State Capitol. Columbus suffragists sent the President a large bouquet of roses after he arrived at his hotel. With the roses was a card saying the suffragists supported the nation-wide suffrage amendment.

About 7,000 people were received by the President, and 1,000 of those who passed down the reception line were suffragists.

Mrs. Frank B. Willis, wife of Ohio's Governor, was at the head of the suffrage delegation. She gave President Wilson a bouquet of yellow roses and white lilies of the valley, representing the suffrage colors.

I favor equal suffrage.—Dr. R. H. Jesse, former president of Missouri University.

CHINESE WOMEN ISSUE MANIFESTO

Teachers Lead Movement to Arouse 200,000,000 Women to Interest in Affairs of State

Miss An Shiang-sun of Peking, China, and twenty-eight of her supporters, chiefly school teachers, have issued a manifesto urging the women of China to participate in the movement to restore the monarchy.

The manifesto says, in part: "According to the constitutional compact, the sovereignty of the country is vested in the people of the whole country. The people of the whole country naturally means the people of both sexes. Of the 400,000,000 people half are women. If we let the men alone promote this movement not only will the movement be incomplete, but it will seem that men alone are entitled to rights that belong equally to women. If our women do not understand the importance of this it may be due to sheer ignorance; but if some of them understand, yet remain inactive and indifferent to the movement, they will be guilty of neglecting their duty to the country.

"We admit that the intelligence of the mass of our women is still at a very low standard, but they have the same interest in the country and have the same desire for the safety of their person and property as the men. Why should we women remain passive without raising a hand to support the movement? Being women, we are of frail constitution and limited education, yet we have been deeply concerned with the unsettled conditions of the country and cannot but express our anxiety for its welfare. It is sincerely hoped that the 200,000,000 women of this country will awaken to the importance of their duty and follow the lead of the patriotic men by petitioning the government for the restoration of a monarchy."

DENY DEMOCRACY BASED ON ARMS

Gen. Wood's Assumption that Only Fighters Should Vote Severely Criticized by Press

With woman suffrage advancing its radiant golden banners, says the Springfield Republican, Gen. Leonard Wood marches some way behind the procession when he argues in behalf of conscription: "A real democracy rests upon our universal manhood suffrage, and manhood suffrage means manhood obligations and service. No true democracy that refuses to recognize this principle can live through times of stress and strain." At best it is not very good logic to argue that only the sex which provides fighters should vote; there are plenty of questions to be settled that have nothing to do with fighting, and the issue of peace or war is seldom settled by vote. But even this limping logic is straight and sound in comparison with turning the proposition about and arguing that the sex which votes is under a general obligation to perform military service. The fallacy lies in the false assumption that "manhood obligations and service" is identical with obligations to military service—a fallacy which woman suffrage will make the more glaring. There are many kinds of service, and a democracy needs them all.

The Suffragist's Spoon River

(With apologies to Edgar Lee Masters)

By Mary Katherine Reely

PETER KESTER



FOR years I was opposed to woman suffrage. I thought the idea was preposterous; Women were too flimsy, too weak, too untrustworthy. To be endowed with the privileges of the ballot. And all the time, though I did not know it, I was basing my conclusions on my mother, who was a nagger,

My Aunt Henrietta, a gossip, and my sister-in-law, Who reads cheap novels and neglects her house and her children. Then by the grace of God, or a miracle of good luck Of which I am all unworthy, I married Sally Clayton, who has more sense in her two little fingers

Than any man I know has in the whole of his body. And I changed my tune and began to say woman's voice was needed in government.

Thereby I learned this truth, which I give to you, my brothers, in confidence:

Whenever you stand up in public and open your mouths on the subject of Woman

You reveal the intimate secrets of you own home and family.

MRS. DANIEL RITCHIE



HEN Dan was killed in front of a switch engine on a sidetrack,

And I was left with the six children to feed, clothe and care for,

Herm Jarvis, County Commissioner then, came around to the house

And talked about the poor farm and a State institution for the children.

I rose in my wrath and pointed, and said, "Do you see that door?" He went through it quick as a flash.

Well, you needn't ask me how I did it—but 'twas done! And there were six of them to be fed, clothed and kept in school. And I got two of the boys graduated and at work for themselves, And one of the girls through with a domestic science course and able to look after the others

Before I up and died of overwork and slow starvation.

And let me tell you one thing, Herm Jarvis, after he went to the Legislature

And began making speeches against women voting, Never came around to me with his talk about poor, weak women And their need of men's strength to rely on!

He knew which side of the door I'd show him!

They're trying to get a law now, they say, that'd give help to widowed mothers like I was.

Herm, I understand, voted against it.

MRS. LYMAN C. COLE



MARY LORD BENNET, one of the best women And mother of the finest family that ever grew up in our town,

Was always urging me to join the suffrage society. But I only laughed and said I was just a home-body, I wasn't interested in politics,

I'd look after my children and leave the rest to the men folks.

And I meant it, too, and thought if I gave the best of myself To the girls and to Harold, I'd be doing all of my duty.

Mother-love, I thought, was the force that ruled the world.

What need had I of the ballot?

Then I woke from my rose-colored dream

To find that Harold, my first born—

Not somebody else's son, but mine—

Had taken to gambling and drinking—

All because there was no pretence of enforcing the law against selling liquor to minors.

Neither my tears nor my prayers were of any avail,

And I learned too late that mother-love can be helpless

When it has no control over the environment

In which the loved one must grow up to manhood.

PEACE MEMBERS ARRANGE PLANS

Party Will Proceed from Christiania Direct to Hague and Meet Other Delegates

Tentative plans for the itinerary and preliminary procedure of Henry Ford's party of peace advocates were announced last week. At Christiania, Norway, the party will remain three days, and Norwegian delegates will be selected.

A special train will be dispatched to Stockholm to transport Swedish

delegates, and another special train will bring Danish delegates from Copenhagen.

Later the party purposes going to The Hague by rail provided Mr. Ford can obtain permission to pass through Germany. He will agree to a non-stop trip if the Germans will grant permission to traverse the country.

At The Hague, Dutch, Spanish and Swiss members are expected to join the party, and with their arrival permanent organization will be attempted with a view to bringing peace.

WOMAN LEADS IN HEALTH CONTEST

Miss Tate, Who Wins Directorship of Tuberculosis Board, Has Notable Record

Miss Edythe L. M. Tate, who recently made the highest grade in an examination with ten contestants participating, thereby winning the position of director of the tuberculosis bureau of the State Board of Health of California, was at one time special investigator of the Russell Sage Foundation and also special agent of the United States Immigration Commission, says the San Francisco "Argonaut."

Later she was employed by the United Charities of Chicago to investigate sociological conditions in the stockyards. As a State organizer in Wisconsin for the Anti-Tuberculosis Association, she secured the passage of nine laws. Recently she has been the executive secretary of the California Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis.

PAGEANT CLOSES UNION MEETING

Convention of Congressional Union Interviews Congressmen and Pledges \$41,000 for Campaign

The convention of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage closed Dec. 13 with a brilliant pageant of the life of Susan B. Anthony at Convention Hall, in Washington. At a big mass meeting at the Belasco Theatre last Sunday more than \$41,000 was pledged to finance the Union's campaign.

The sessions of the convention were held at the "little White House" at Madison Place opposite the White House. Business meetings were held Dec. 8, 9, 10 and 11, at which reports from the State branches of the Union, the national organizers and committees were given.

On Dec. 9 every delegate and every available suffrage worker went to members of Congress individually and urged upon them the passage of the nation-wide suffrage amendment.

The Sunday mass meeting was called in honor of Miss Frances Jolliffe and Mrs. Sara Bard Field, the two envoys who motored across the continent carrying the petition to Congress for a suffrage amendment.

Senator Sutherland of Utah and Representative Mondell of Wyoming were among the speakers.

"It gave me peculiar pleasure to introduce in the Senate the so-called Anthony amendment," said the Senator. "I should not be surprised to see it adopted in the Senate by the necessary two-thirds vote, for even in that conservative body we are gradually gaining ground."

Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont led off with a pledge of \$10,000; the District of Columbia, \$5,000; Pennsylvania, \$5,000; Ohio, \$5,000; New York, \$3,000, and Minnesota \$2,000.

Four hundred persons took part in the pageant, which is said to have cost about \$5,000 and consisted of ten historic episodes depicting the dramatic life of Miss Anthony, and five symbolic friezes.

The pageant was an innovation in the art of pageantry because

SUSAN B. ANTHONY DONE IN BRONZE

Medallion Bas Relief of Leader Presented by Sculptor to National Convention

The historical department of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, D. C., has just accepted and placed on view a bronze medallion bas relief of Susan B. Anthony, done by Michael Jacobs, a painter and sculptor of note residing in that city.

The bas relief, which is of the school of Rodin, is a noteworthy example of the present tendency in sculpture, which is to keep the relief as low as possible. The relief on the medallion of Miss Anthony is only one-fourth of an inch high. (As a compliment to the National American Woman Suffrage Association, of which Miss Anthony was president from 1892 until her death in 1909 Mr. Jacobs had cast a second copy of the bas relief, which was formally presented to the National Association during its convention this week.

SUFFRAGE VOTE SHOWED INTEREST

Bay State Official Figure Say 91% of Vote for Governor Was Brought Out

Official figures on the Massachusetts election of Nov. 2 show that 91.28 per cent. as many votes were cast on the suffrage amendment as were cast for Governor. The total number of votes cast for Governor was 502,082. The total number of votes recorded on the suffrage amendment was 458,317.

The vote by counties on the amendment was as follows:

	Yes.	No.
Barnstable	1,109	2,700
Berkshire	5,341	10,499
Bristol	11,783	23,444
Dukes	195	528
Essex	21,159	40,122
Franklin	2,178	4,184
Hampden	11,261	18,125
Hampshire	2,702	6,737
Middlesex	36,584	61,531
Nantucket	101	404
Norfolk	9,982	17,697
Plymouth	7,497	13,886
Suffolk	35,249	59,067
Worcester	17,474	36,778
Totals	162,615	295,702

On the last page of the official program of the National Convention is inscribed this quotation from Arnold Toynbee:

"Languor can only be conquered by enthusiasm, and enthusiasm can only be kindled by two things: an ideal which takes the imagination by storm, and a definite, intelligible plan for carrying that ideal into practice."

it depicted for the first time the life of an individual instead of interpreting the life of a community or a social idea.

Patronesses of the pageant include Mrs. Christian Hemmick, Mrs. George O'Dell, Mrs. G. Brown Miller, Mrs. Henry Blount, Mrs. Morven Thompson, Mrs. Barret Ridgely, Mrs. Robert Peary, wife of Rear Admiral Peary, U. S. N.; Mrs. Richard Wainwright, Mrs. Robert Baker, Mrs. Henry Macfarland, Mrs. Appleton P. Clark, Mrs. Theodore Noyes, Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, Mrs. Henry Graves, wife of the chief forester; Mrs. C. B. Sigsbee, wife of Rear Admiral Sigsbee; Mrs. Clara D. Neely, of Neighborhood House; Mrs. George Sutherland, wife of Senator Sutherland; Mrs. Reed Smoot; Mrs. William M. Borah, Mrs. Thomas J. Walsh, Mrs. Frank W. Mondell, Mrs. Reeve Lewis and Mrs. Henry Ashurst, wife of Senator Ashurst.

WHEN A MAN VOTES

What is required at present of a man before he can vote in the United States?

He must be twenty-one years old.

He must be native born or naturalized.

In some States he must be able to read (in a few southern States there are additional educational and property qualifications affecting the Negro voters only).

That is all.

He is not asked whether he will use his vote.

He is not asked if all men want to vote.

He is not asked if he thinks the laws need changing.

He is not asked if he will promise to better the laws. He is not asked to give statistics showing whether men have previously used their votes to better the laws.

He is not asked if he is sure he can still be a good father.

He is not asked to "remain attractive" after he votes. But all such requirements and more are made of women when they aspire to vote.—Katherine Campion in Philadelphia Evening Telegraph.

SHE WATERS THE TREE

Women working in the subways of Berlin have had their wages reduced because the men working with them insisted on getting more pay than the women, according to Berlin correspondence to the New York Evening Post from Gilbert Hirsch.

"At the most difficult and dangerous section of this new subway, where it passes under the Spree," says Mr. Hirsch, "there are as many women at work as men. Standing on a wooden bridge, I could see on one side the swiftly moving surface of the river, and far below me, on the other side, cut off from the river merely by an iron dam which women had helped to erect, a great wooden winch, which was hauling up large iron buckets of water from the bottom. Two of the four 'men' who were turning that winch were women."

"Those women are helping the suffragists refute what they call 'the last argument against woman suffrage'—the statement that women are unable to participate in war."

And yet the men working with them induced the government to lower the women's pay below their own!

Mr. Hirsch tells of the work of Hedwig Heyl, "friend of royalty, and, by common consent, one of the first women of Germany. Every morning she puts on an apron and works for hours in her factory on the Salzufer. She is not a young woman—she must be close to sixty. And her factory was not built for canning meat. It was a dye factory before the war; but at the outbreak of the war she changed it into a canning factory, and now turns out 6,000 pounds of tinned meat every day for the German army. Most of the workers she employs are women refugees from East Prussia. The room in which the work is done was built of galvanized iron that everything might be kept antiseptic, white caps and aprons are worn, hands and mouths must be rinsed as carefully as if the canners were Red Cross nurses taking part in an operation. And the results seem to satisfy the German army. For a new order came into the factory last week for another million pounds.

"But this is only a small part of her activity. She is said to know more about the present food situation than any other individual in Germany, and the first time I heard mention of her name it was as 'the woman who won't let England

starve us out.' She consults with the Social Democrat leaders as to what the poorer classes like to eat, and how to provide it for them under present conditions. She consults with doctors, both the orthodox and the 'food cranks,' as to which elements people can do without, and which they cannot. She consults with statesmen as to the possibility of negotiating with the governments of Holland and Denmark for the admission into Germany of certain foodstuffs and raw materials on which there is an embargo; and with farmers on the relation between the grain used for fodder and that used for food. She has helped organize a 'Hausfrauenverein,' whose chief function seems to be to work up substitutes for all the necessary articles for which there is now a shortage of raw materials; and she arranges with manufacturers and dry goods men to have the best of these substitutes made in large quantities and put on the market. The Verein also teaches its members how to be their own plumbers, electricians, etc., now that there is a great shortage of men in those lines. And she has got a Brussels lace industry started here in Berlin—through having come across a German refugee from one of the Belgian lace factories early in the war and getting the ladies of the court interested in her work.

"Between the two extremes of the women day laborers and Frau Heyl you will find practically every woman in Germany taking her place somewhere in that tremendous organization which is Germany today.

"When I asked Hedwig Heyl what she thought of the suffrage, her answer was characteristic:

"It's a fruit not yet ripe for the plucking. I water the tree."

DANISH MOTHER GIVES THREE SONS

Suffrage Pioneer Shows Need of Vote to Stop Wars and Women's Grief

Mrs. Johanna Munter, of Copenhagen, writes to The Woman's Journal regarding the history and progress of equal suffrage in Denmark. In closing her letter she says: "I would tell you that I think you could get many subscriptions to your paper from Danes in America. But, my dear Miss Ryan, I am going to retreat myself; I have lost three of my

TWO BABIES DIE TO EACH SOLDIER

Woman Physician Warns England that Greatest Death Toll Falls on Children

To every Englishman who dies in the trenches on the continent two babies die in Great Britain. These are facts which Dr. Saleeby, physician and suffragist, has announced to the women of England. At Sunderland House, the home of the Duchess of Marlborough, Dr. Saleeby warned a listening group that Rome died for lack of men and "the losses of the greatest wars in history were beggared when compared with the continuing loss of life at its source in England in 1914."

MEASURE CARRIED BY WOMEN'S VOTE

Des Moines Bill for Municipal Court Passed by Women's Majority Over Men's No

Women of Des Moines, Ia., were responsible for the carrying of the measure for the establishment of a municipal court by a majority of 81 votes.

The official canvass showed that 5,067 votes were cast for the court and 4,986 against it.

Two hundred and eighty women voted for the court and only 152 voted against it. The majority of women for the court was 128. This overbalanced the men's majority of 53 against, and left the court a majority of 81 votes.

Justices of the peace who are interested in seeing the election thrown out have decided to contest the right of the women to vote on the question and a contest of the election will be filed soon. This will mean a legal battle that may be carried to the Iowa Supreme Court.

NO MAGIC IN A STATE LINE

If it is right and expedient that women should vote in Oregon, it is equally right and expedient that they should vote in Pennsylvania. There is no magic power in a State line to make the women of Illinois fit to govern themselves and in Kentucky unfit to govern themselves. — Representative Kelly, of Pennsylvania, in the debate on equal suffrage in Congress last January.

sons, the last one, Captain Hermann Munter, by going up with an hydro-aeroplane. I am soon going to die, I am so old, and have lost three excellent sons; the first died from cholera in China, the second was drowned and this one as I have told you."

Mrs. Munter is one of the suffrage pioneers. Her hard lot is like that of the women whose bodies made the bridge to The Land of Freedom so vividly pictured by Olive Schreiner.

From Ireland comes the account of Miss May Traill, a girl of 20, who is doing remarkable work as a skilled electrical engineer. She studied horticulture at Studley College, Warwickshire, passed fifth out of 135 candidates at the end of a two years' course, and was subsequently placed on the staff of the college in full charge of the electrical light and power installation.

NEW YORK'S CONSTITUTION

The text of the constitution of the newly organized New York State Woman Suffrage Party, adopted at the reorganization convention of the State Association and the Party, is as follows:

ARTICLE I.

Name

The name of this Association shall be NEW YORK STATE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PARTY, auxiliary to the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

ARTICLE II.

Object

The object of this Association shall be to secure to the women of the State of New York and of the United States their right to vote, by appropriate State and National legislation.

ARTICLE III.

Membership

Section 1. Every citizen of New York State over 21 years of age enrolled as a believer in Woman Suffrage, in the assembly district in which he or she lives, shall be recognized as an enrolled member of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party.

Section 2. Enrolled members who have paid 2c per year to their assembly district organization shall be the voting members therein.

ARTICLE IV.

Officers

Section 1. The officers of this association shall be chairman, three vice-chairmen, recording secretary, corresponding secretary, treasurer and four directors.

Section 2. The executive committee shall consist of the officers elected at the annual convention, the chairmen of campaign districts, the chairman of the City of New York, and the chairmen of working sections. The executive committee shall constitute the working board in the interim of State meetings.

(a) The chairmen of campaign districts shall be appointed by the officers of the association provided that the appointments are approved by their respective assembly district leaders.

(b) The Equal Franchise Society, the Men's League for Woman Suffrage and the Collegiate League may become sections of this association, and their elected presidents shall be chairmen of their respective sections.

(c) Other sections may be created and their chairmen appointed by the elected officers.

Section 3. (a) The State committee, which shall meet annually in conjunction with the State convention or in the interim at the call of the elected officers, shall consist of the executive committee and the elected leaders of the assembly district organizations.

(b) The leaders and officers of assembly district organizations shall be elected at an annual assembly district convention, to which all voting members shall be summoned.

ARTICLE V.

Annual Convention

Section 1. An annual convention of this Party shall be held for the transaction of business and the election of officers.

Section 2. (a) Every leader of an assembly district shall be an ex-officio

delegate to the annual convention, provided that her district has a paid-up membership of 100, and that \$5 has been paid to the elected State treasurer; for the same membership and payment, one additional delegate may be appointed by the officers of the assembly district.

(b) For each additional 100 paid-up members, for which an additional \$5 shall be paid, one additional delegate may be appointed.

ARTICLE VI.

Elections

A primary for the nomination of officers shall be held on the second business day of the annual convention, the two candidates receiving the highest number of votes for each of the eleven offices to be the nominees for such offices respectively. The election of officers shall be held on the third business day of the annual convention. The primary and the election shall be conducted in the manner prescribed by an election committee of five members, appointed by the chairman of the association.

ARTICLE VII.

Amendments

This constitution may be amended by a majority vote at any annual convention, at least one day's notice having been given.

BY-LAWS

I

The State committee shall hold one meeting preceding the opening of each annual convention and another meeting after the conclusion of such convention. At the State convention and State committee meetings each member of the executive committee and each delegate shall have one vote.

II

The decisions reached by the executive committee shall be presented in the form of recommendations at the business meetings of the State committee and convention.

III

The State committee shall elect or appoint delegates to the annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

IV

The necessary expenses of the four general officers, namely, the chairman, the two secretaries and the treasurer, in connection with attendance upon the annual meetings and other meetings of the association may be met from the funds of the State association.

V

The term of the newly-elected officers shall commence with the session of the executive committee held after the conclusion of the convention as provided for by by-law II.

VI

These by-laws may be amended by majority vote at any annual convention.

"Robert's Rule of Order" (copyright, 1904) shall govern this association in all cases to which they are applicable, and in which they are not inconsistent with the constitution and by-laws.

The New York State Association, in voting to merge itself into the more comprehensive party, made way for a united fight for suffrage throughout the State.

MRS. BLANKENBURG ON DICTATORSHIP

Philadelphia Mayor's Wife Believes Every Assisted Voter Took Orders against Suffrage

The petition for a nation-wide amendment in Philadelphia was headed by the name of Mayor Blankenburg. In a recent speech Mrs. Blankenburg said:

"The reason we were defeated was that the men took orders and the orders were to whip us. They did. One of the dictators said the night before the election that the 'reason he didn't believe in suffrage was because his mother didn't. The other said to one of his chums after the election, 'We nipped that amendment just in time.'"

"I feel that every assisted voter in Philadelphia voted 'no.' And

there were legions of them. One thing is sure. We must convince and convert the dictators to believe in suffrage—that's your job. Even that isn't difficult if you go about it in the right way."

Women now work in all but 44 of 400 trades investigated by Alice Henry, former editor of Life and Labor. Miss Henry points out that because of the ever-increasing number of household labor-saving inventions, vacuum cleaners, etc., women are finding more and more work outside the home.

"I never could see any reason under the sun why a woman shouldn't vote and I intend to vote for suffrage every chance I get, so long as I live." —U. S. Senator Lawrence N. Sherman.

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL AND SUFFRAGE NEWS

FOUNDED BY

LUCY STONE and HENRY B. BLACKWELL

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to Winning Equal Rights and especially to Winning Equal Suffrage for Women

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SATURDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1915

THE NATIONAL OUTLOOK

The National Convention of this year is not finished as the Woman's Journal goes to press, but it promises to be one of the most important and most useful in the history of the National Association.

Never have the suffragists come together with such a history of achievement behind them. More votes were cast for equal suffrage this year than in any year since the movement began. For the first time, a huge breach has been made in the opposition in the East. While no State was carried, all four of the States that voted upon the question in 1914 gave a larger vote for suffrage than they gave for the Republican party at the last presidential election. The vote stood: Massachusetts, suffrage vote, 162,615; Republican vote, 155,948; New York, suffrage vote, 514,198; Republican vote, 455,428; New Jersey, suffrage vote, 133,282; Republican vote, 88,835; Pennsylvania, suffrage vote, 385,348; Republican vote 273,505.

Nor is the growth only at the East. Never before did the suffragists come to Washington with so strong a backing from the South. The Legislatures of Tennessee, West Virginia and Arkansas have given majority votes of both houses for suffrage amendments. Among the women, the progress of sentiment is still more rapid, and we have just had three marked instances of it, happening one after another. The Florida State Federation of Women's Clubs lately passed a resolution in favor of woman suffrage by a vote of 100 to 5. Two years ago such a resolution failed even to get out of committee.

The Texas State Federation a few days before had passed a like resolution by a two-thirds majority, and the Louisiana State Federation has just done so by a unanimous vote. A Louisiana woman says that two years ago the women were afraid even to discuss it.

The movement is now truly national; and it is international as well. In Europe this year two new stars have been added to the suffrage flag, Denmark and Iceland. On all sides the tide is rising. From every point in the compass the forces are converging upon Congress, and the end of the long road is in sight. A. S. B.

VOTES FOR HEROINES

When the Anglia sank, with her load of wounded soldiers, the nurses refused to put on the life-preservers. They said, "Wounded men first!" In England people are saying that such women must not be left disfranchised after the war.

In the wreck of the Titanic, when chivalrous men gave the women the boats, it was perverted into an argument against equal suffrage, on the ground that chivalry was enough for women, and they had no need of votes.

This time it was the women who showed chivalry. The incident brings out clearly the fact that chivalry is not a question of voters or non-voters; it is a question of the stronger looking out for the weaker, and giving them the first chance for life.

If heroism gives a right to the ballot, after this war women of all the nations involved in it will be able to "read their title clear." They have shown their full share of the courage, and borne their full share of the burden and

suffering. When the smoke of battle has cleared away, let us hope that the men of all nations will act upon Abraham Lincoln's principle, when he said, "All those should share in the privileges of the government who assist in bearing its burdens . . . by no means excluding females." A. S. B.

GUILTY OF MURDER

A large number of babies have lately died in Nashville, Tenn., and the deaths were traced to bad milk. The like epidemics are constantly happening, now in one city, now in another.

In a recent address Dr. J. E. McCulloch, general secretary of the Southern Sociological Congress, protested strongly against calling such disasters a visitation of Providence. He pointed out that the community was responsible for letting bad milk be sold. "We are all together guilty of murder," said Dr. McCulloch. "If we attribute the results of our neglect to God, we are also guilty of blasphemy!"

"If there ever was a crime in history," continued Dr. McCulloch, "it is the crime of society in allowing conditions to exist that are equivalent to poisoning thousands of children in this country every year. Do you know that every day there is an average of 685 babies die in the United States? And the larger number of these deaths are due to causes that we know how to prevent."

"Some time ago I spoke in a church in South Carolina. The pastor asked the congregation to pray for a child that was dying near by. I found out that the illness of the child and other children there was due to bad milk. When it came time for me to speak I told the people that I was not inclined to pray for the child. I told them that I felt like praying to God to forgive us for allowing the child to be poisoned. What we need to do is to stop the sale of bad food and bad water."

The purity of the milk supply, of the water supply and of the food supply is controlled by government regulation. Dr. Harvey W. Wiley says that if there were no other argument for woman suffrage, the better enforcement of the pure food laws would be reason enough. A. S. B.

COLORADO AND TEMPERANCE

We resume this week the review of "The Case Against Woman Suffrage," by George R. Conroy.

Mr. Conroy declared that "the liquor interests have nothing to fear and the temperance interests nothing to expect from votes for women." Last week we pointed out that Washington, Oregon and Arizona adopted State-wide prohibition soon after adopting equal suffrage, and that in each State the result was attributed to the women; also that California granted equal suffrage in 1911, and that by 1915 the number of no-license towns had risen from 200 to 690.

The women of Colorado got the ballot in 1893. Within four years the number of no-license towns in the State had quadrupled, and it kept on growing. When a constitutional amendment for State-wide prohibition was defeated in 1912, Ellis Meredith, the head of Denver's reform Election Commission, and a strong advocate of the dry policy, wrote in The Woman's Journal of Nov. 16, 1912: "It is because under our local option law conditions are so good and dry territory increasing so fast that many people feel we shall come nearer regulating the traffic in this way than by so-called total prohibition." Ellis Meredith also stated that by far the largest part of Denver was dry, saloons being rigorously kept out of the residence districts and limited to a small section of the city.

In 1914, State-wide prohibition was adopted. Both its friends and its enemies attributed its passage to the women. The organ of the Denver brewers says that Colorado made a great mistake when it gave women the ballot. A. S. B.

IN IDAHO AND UTAH

The women of Idaho got the ballot in 1896. The number of no-license towns grew till in 1914 there were only 190 saloons in the State (Anti-Saloon Year Book for 1915). In January, 1915, a prohibition law was passed by the Legislature, and in November a constitutional amendment for State-wide prohibition was adopted by popular vote.

In Utah, in 1911, 87 cities and towns voted dry and 23 wet, and the number of dry towns has increased since. The Anti-Saloon Year Book for 1915 says: "The State is really dry, with the exception of its two largest cities, the mining and railroad camps and one residence town." A State-wide prohibition law was passed by the Legislature of 1915, but was vetoed by the Governor.

THE CASE OF ILLINOIS

The experience of Illinois is of especial interest, because in that State the men's and women's votes are cast

in separate ballot boxes and it is possible to see just how the women vote. They have voted dry much more generally than the men.

For instance, at the election held in Illinois on April 7, 1914, in Rockford, 5,155 women voted dry and 1,048 wet; 4,480 men voted dry and 5,155 wet; in Bloomington 3,806 women voted dry and 2,311 wet; 2,655 men voted dry and 3,896 wet; in Freeport 2,890 women voted dry and 1,877 wet; 1,984 men voted dry and 2,867 wet; in Pontiac 1,137 women voted dry and 364 wet; 768 men voted dry and 797 wet, and so on.

According to the official returns published in the Chicago Tribune of April 22, 1914, in all 121,315 women voted dry and 67,418 wet, while 144,925 men voted wet and 98,179 dry. Of the women 64.3 per cent. voted dry and 35.7 per cent. wet; of the men 59.7 per cent. voted wet and 40.3 per cent. dry.

Out of 329 townships voting there were only 20 where a majority of the women voted wet, and in all of these the majority of the men voted wet also, so that the women's vote made no difference in the result. Among these hundreds of cities and towns there was not one where the women's vote turned the scale in favor of license; and there were 96 where it turned the scale against license.

The Anti-Saloon Year Book for 1915 says: "Of the 1150 saloons that were closed, 900 were closed on account of the majorities found in the women's ballot boxes." And it adds: "The woman's suffrage bill has proved to be the most valuable piece of temperance legislation the State has enacted" (Page 135). A. S. B.

ONE HAND OR TWO?

Mr. Conroy is so little of an expert on the temperance question that he says only five of the suffrage States have prohibition. There are six—Washington, Oregon, Arizona, Idaho, Kansas and Colorado.

He says that twelve States have secured prohibition without equal suffrage. There are now fourteen; but eleven of them are Southern States, where a strong factor in the case was the wish of the white people to keep liquor from the negroes. In a few Northern States temperance sentiment is so strong that prohibition has been carried even without the women; but both the liquor people and the temperance people believe that it would be carried more easily and held more securely with the women voting. If an apple hangs low, you may be able to gather it with one hand. If it hangs high, you need two. These difficult far Western States could hardly have been carried without the help of the women's votes. So in Illinois, some of the towns went dry on a vote of the men alone, but in other more difficult towns it took the votes of both men and women to do it. A. S. B.

THE TEST OF EXPERIMENT

Mr. Conroy quotes Dr. Anna H. Shaw as saying: "I contend that we should not answer our opponents when they argue along these lines, because facts as to the results of equal suffrage, or the number of women who want suffrage, or the reasons they ought to want it, have no bearing on our question." Mr. Conroy gives no authority for this alleged quotation. If Dr. Shaw ever made the remark, she doubtless did it in the spirit in which the Hon. William Dudley Foulke said:

"We talk too much as if this question depended upon how women were going to exercise the right when they have it. What should we men think if we were told that we could have the ballot provided we would vote in the way that somebody else might think was right? Would not our indignant answer be, 'It is none of your business how I vote; that matter I will determine for myself!'"

Mr. Foulke said this in his address at the annual meeting of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in Washington twenty-five years ago. It is preposterous for Mr. Conroy to claim that suffragists are saying it now because experience has gone against them. All down the years there has been an occasional explosion of this kind from some indignant suffragist who believed the matter to be at bottom one of simple equality and felt that the opponents were doing what one of George W. Cable's characters says that the people in Louisiana do—they certainly do it in many other places—putting the question second that ought to come first, their first question being expediency and their second divine justice. And then the indignant suffragist—Dr. Shaw, or Mr. Foulke, or whoever it may be—generally proceeds to array the overwhelming evidence that equal suffrage has proved itself expedient in the opinion of almost all those who have had practical experience of it.

Instead of refusing to argue on that question, the National Association and its affiliated societies have been circulating vast numbers of tracts bearing such titles as "The Test of Experiment." For every one witness that the anti-suffragists can quote, we can quote a

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SUFFRAGE WORK FOR THE STATES

MICHIGAN

For the first time in the history of the Michigan suffrage work, an organization has been effected among the co-eds at the University of Michigan. Miss Helen Brander, daughter of Mrs. J. C. Brander, a member of the State board, is the president, and Miss Miriam Hubbard, daughter of the late Elbert Hubbard, vice-president. The organization came as one of the results of the recent speaking tour of Beatrice Forbes-Robertson Hale. Nearly a hundred young women joined the association at once.

Mrs. Hale has just completed one of the most successful speaking campaigns through Michigan ever known in the history of suffrage work in the State. Her tour marked the opening of the 1918 campaign, for it was entirely devoted to effecting organizations. She spoke in Alpena, Cheboygan, Ann Arbor, Grand Rapids, Detroit and Battle Creek, and in Cheboygan, where the suffragists had never before been organized, she completed a new organization.

At the annual State suffrage convention at Saginaw last month Mrs. Hale and Charles T. Hallinan were the principal speakers. Mrs. O. H. Clark was unanimously re-elected president, and the policy of Michigan in its affiliation with the National was endorsed. It was voted to go into the campaign in 1918, foregoing the 1916 campaign because of the proposed State-wide prohibition campaign. The apportionment scheme of financing the work of the State Association received the hearty endorsement of the convention, and the reports gave evidence of its success.

Mrs. Clark is at Washington this week at the national convention, together with a good sized delegation from Michigan.

MISSOURI

A mile of yellow ribbon has been cut into suitable lengths and stitched into many little pockets, each pocket just large enough to hold a dime. This ribbon is in the hand of every suffrage worker in Missouri, and many dimes find their way into the tiny pockets. The mile will produce, at final harvest, approximately \$6,386.

FLORIDA

Mrs. Florence M. Cooley, president of the Florida Equal Franchise League, was on her way to the national convention in Washington when she received a telegram saying that her house was burned, and she returned home to Jacksonville.

The new officers of the Equal Franchise League are as follows: President, Mrs. Roselle C. Cooley; honorary vice-presidents, Mrs. William H. Baker; Mrs. Byrd S. Dewey; Mrs. Cordelia Durkee; 1st vice-president, Mrs. M. P. Capen; 2nd vice-president, Mrs. W. B. Clarkson; 3rd vice-president, Mrs. C. Seton Fleming; corresponding secretary, Miss Gertrude F. Jacobi; recording secretary, Mrs. Eva G. Maloney; treasurer, Mrs. D. Ellen Mintz; chairman finance committee, Mrs. Katherine L. Egan; chairman publicity committee, Bryan Mack; legislative committee, Miss Sadie L. Yewell, Hon. Fred Cone.

INDIANA

The Ft. Wayne League has elected officers as follows: Miss

Elizabeth Ihler, president; Mrs. Fred H. McCulloch, first vice-president; Dr. Carrie Banning, second vice-president; Miss Luila McKinnie, secretary, and Miss Alice Ward, treasurer. Interest is growing in these meetings and plans are being made for a big suffrage day celebration early in January.

The Hammond League meeting Dec. 6 was in the nature of an experience meeting, each woman telling just why she wants the ballot.

The year book of the Princeton League for 1916 is an admirable piece of work in every way. There is a sequence in its program, each one consisting first, of some phase of Indiana history; second, some article of the State constitution; third, some phase of administration, and fourth, a study of parliamentary law. A portion of the time will be given to the latest suffrage news. The program committee consists of Mrs. C. O. Baltzell, Mrs. Luther Benson and Mrs. Henry Kister.

TENNESSEE

Senator John W. Clayton Church gave an interesting suffrage address in Columbia Dec. 7, under the auspices of the Columbia Equal Suffrage League, in which he asked the citizens not to send a man to the next Legislature who opposed the woman suffrage bill. A large audience of both men and women applauded Senator Church as he made his plea for woman's rights.

Mrs. Charles A. Perkins, wife of Professor Perkins of the University of Tennessee, was elected a member of the Knoxville Board of Education Dec. 7, receiving four of the five votes of the city commission. She is the first woman to serve on this board, in accordance with the new law.

OHIO

The Hiram College Ohio Equal Suffrage League has just been organized by Miss Alice Standish. It started with 20 members, and after the first meeting increased to forty. Miss Marguerite Walls is the president.

The Deer Creek Equal Suffrage Club recently celebrated its 23rd anniversary with a wonderful banquet to which people were bidden from the whole country roundabout. Dr. Sarah Brooke, pioneer suffragist and founder of the club, was complimented by a life membership in the State Association.

Mrs. James R. Hopley, of Bucyrus, former president of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, has accepted the chairmanship of the 8th Congressional District for the Ohio W. S. A. This district includes the counties of Marion, Hardin, Hancock, Crawford, Morrow and Wyandot. Mrs. Howard Huckins, of Oberlin, becomes county president of Lorain County, with Miss Anna B. Johnson on the state board and as a county president. There are now three former presidents of the Ohio Federation actively

at work in the State Association. Mrs. Huckins addressed the Political Study Club of Elyria, of which she is an honorary member, Dec. 7.

East Cleveland suffragists think they may get municipal suffrage for women in the new city charter. The home rule provisions of the Ohio constitution are held by some lawyers to grant municipalities the power to extend votes to women. East Cleveland has twice carried for suffrage and the Cleveland Press says: "As a horseback opinion, it looks as if they have a pretty fair chance to win out."

Chairmen of standing committees of the Ohio W. S. A., so far appointed, are: Finance, Miss Mary Graham Rice, Norwalk; Enrollment, Mrs. Chas. S. Brooks, Cleveland; Literature, Mrs. Roger G. Perkins, Cleveland; Organization, Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser, Warren.

State Executive Committee meetings, combined with local or district conferences, are announced as follows: January, Dayton; March, Mansfield; May, Akron. Special features will be planned by the entertaining organization in each instance.

Montgomery County and greater Dayton Association elected officers this week as follows: President, Mrs. O. F. Davisson; vice-presidents, Mrs. N. M. Stanley, Mrs. J. B. Thresher, Mrs. Olive D. Houck, Mrs. Valentine Winters, Mrs. E. B. Weston, Mrs. Wm. A. Feather; secretary, Mrs. W. K. Louis, assistant secretary, Mrs. Hart Cummin; treasurer, Mrs. D. W. Eby; assistant treasurer, Miss Marian Besse. The association voted with much enthusiasm to proceed with ward and precinct work. Headquarters is at the Young Women's Club League in Dayton.

The Hamilton County Woman Suffrage Association (headquarters, Parlor B, Burnet House), has elected the following officers for 1915-1916: President, Mrs. Frank P. Gorman; vice-presidents in the order named, Mrs. Fenton Lawson, Mrs. Elliott Pendleton, Dr. Kate Sprague, Mrs. P. D. Keys, Dr. Louise Eastman; treasurer, Miss Mary Sawyer; recording secretary, Mrs. N. Hubbell; corresponding secretary, Miss Stella Waters; auditors, Mrs. Glenn Adams, Mrs. H. A. Shafer.

The Woman Suffrage Party of greater Cleveland will hold its annual meeting in January. Delegates from the twelve districts, into which the city has been divided for organization purposes, have been elected at district meetings held late in November and early this month.

Delegates to the National Convention are: Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, Warren; Mrs. G. F. Davisson, Dayton; Mrs. Myron B. Vorce, Mrs. Roger G. Perkins, Mrs. Chas. S. Brooks, Miss Zara du Pont, Cleveland; Miss Mary Graham Rice, Norwalk; Mrs. Florence Swisher, Millersport.

NATIONAL WORKERS WILL TOUR IOWA

Five national suffrage workers will begin definite organized campaign work in Iowa next month. Two workers are sent to the State by friends of the cause and two volunteer their services. An organizer in addition to Miss Mabel Lodge, who has been employed since June, will be employed by the State suffrage board, making six campaign workers in all.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt is sending Mrs. Elsie Benedict of Denver. Miss Florence Leech of Montana is sent to Iowa by the Women Voters' National Alliance, and has been assigned to the ninth Congressional district. Mrs. Maud McCreery of Green Bay, Wis., will be employed as State field worker. Mrs. Ben Hooper of Oskosh, Wis., and Miss Harriett Bain of Kenosha, Wis., are the volunteers. Miss Eleanor Coen of Chicago is State office manager.

Mrs. Frank Dodson of Des Moines, who has been State field secretary since June, declined reelection at the meeting of the directory board of the Iowa Equal Suffrage Association at the State headquarters last week. The board members expressed their appreciation of her work.

NEW YORK

Among the delegates to the national convention from New York at Washington are Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, Mrs. Raymond Brown, Mrs. Norman de R. Whitehouse, Miss Rose Young, Mrs. Ogden Mills Reid, Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, Mrs. Henry Villard, Mrs. Charles Demorest, Mrs. Alice Duer Miller, Mrs. Richard Aldrich, Mrs. George Notman, Mrs. Charles Tiffany, Miss Virginia Thorburn, Mrs. Frank Stratton, Mrs. Howard Mansfield, Mrs. John Blair, Mrs. William L. Benedict and Mrs. Victor Sorchan.

SOUTH DAKOTA

Mrs. John L. Pyle, president of the South Dakota Universal Franchise League, writes of the recent State convention: "After witnessing the enthusiasm and determination to win which was shown by the delegates present, my courage is at high tide. I want all the suffragists in our State to read The Journal. There is a great need of their being informed, and nothing gives courage like knowing that men and women in all parts of the world are working for this great measure."

WISCONSIN

A suffrage meeting in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the birth of Elizabeth Cady Stanton was held in the Presbyterian church of Weyauwega, reports Mrs. Hannah E. Patchin.

The program consisted of the reading of a beautiful sketch of her life written by James Porter and her address given at the International Council in 1888, Whittier's poem, "The Reformers," "The Victory Parade," telling of the suffrage gains in the past one hundred years, "Twelve Anti-Suffrage Arguments," and excerpts from the testimony of the Governors of the suffrage States.

The suffrage States were repre-

Miss Lodge accepted the reappointment as State worker and organizer, and Mrs. Rose Lawless Geyer was appointed secretary of the press bureau.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt and Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, retiring national president, will probably come to Iowa next spring to make a speaking campaign. Dr. Shaw wrote to Miss Flora Dunlap to ask her what she would like the National Association to do in the State. Miss Dunlap replied that she thought the most useful gift the Association could make would be speaking tours by Dr. Shaw and Mrs. Catt.

The State board has voted to hold meetings Wednesday morning of each week during the campaign. The board will include the elective officers, with Miss Dunlap as chairman. Committees named by the board are: Printing, Mrs. Pleasant J. Mills, Des Moines; Mrs. James Deavitt, Oskaloosa. Literature, Dr. Effie McCullum Jones, Waterloo; Miss Elizabeth Perkins, Des Moines. Finance, Mrs. Ella G. Caldwell, Adel. Publicity, Mrs. H. K. Evans, Gorydon; Mrs. Jansen Haines, Des Moines. Press, Mrs. Homer A. Miller, Des Moines; Mrs. H. W. Spaulding, Grinnell.

sented by thirteen young women dressed in white, with broad yellow sashes. While standing upon the platform they sang "Hark, the Sound of Myriad Voices" and "New Columbia." The above was interspersed with instrumental and vocal music. Best of all, there was a good audience.

NEW JERSEY

Suffragists from every county in New Jersey attended a meeting held at Library Hall, Trenton, on Friday to discuss plans for the reorganization of the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association and to adopt a new Constitution and by-laws. A plan for reorganization by political districts, somewhat similar to that of the political parties of the State, was considered for adoption. The decision reached will probably be reported in the next issue of the Journal.

The committee on reorganization is: Chairman, Mrs. J. N. Tuttle, Madison; ex-officio, Mrs. E. F. Feickert, of Plainfield, State president; Mrs. F. H. Colvin, East Orange; Miss Margaret I. MacNaughton, Jersey City; Mrs. Waldo A. Amos, Hoboken; Mrs. Robert S. Huse, Elizabeth; Mrs. R. I. Fellows, Vineland; Mrs. R. P. Finley, Merchantville; Mrs. Arthur Hunter, Montclair; Mrs. Philip McKim Garrison, West Orange, and Miss Florence Halsey, Midland Park.

A meeting of the executive committee of the Equal Franchise League of Hoboken was held Dec. 14 at the home of the president to effect a new organization. The league loses its identity this month through the disbandment of the State organization of that name, of which it is a branch. The State league interests are to be merged with those of the New Jersey Woman Suffrage Association, and a new constitution is to be drawn up to cover new conditions brought about through the merging of the two organizations.

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score. A fair sample is the evidence published in the New York Survey of Oct. 23, 1915.

The Survey is one of the leading philanthropic journals of the country, a sort of unofficial organ of the National Conference of Charities. The editor sent a circular letter to all his subscribers in the suffrage States, asking how woman's ballot worked. He got 634 answers, of which only 15 were unfavorable.

Those replying included bishops and college presidents, lawyers and ministers, officers of mercantile clubs and of the Y. M. C. A., commissioners of public works, librarians, social workers, members of Child Labor Commissions and superintendents of schools. A good many said that they had been opposed until they saw its practical results. The editor says:

"Seldom has The Survey had, on any subject, so many hearty, whole-souled, eager responses to an inquiry." He adds: "Not one reports any evidence of the breakdown of home life as the result—a point of particular interest to the many Survey readers whose main task is the conservation of the family."

This is the most extensive investigation made since Mrs. Julia Ward Howe took a census of ministers and editors in the oldest four suffrage States in 1910. She got 624 answers, of which only 62 were unfavorable.

MORE WOMEN WANT VOTES

Mr. Conroy says that most women do not want to vote. A great many more women favor suffrage than oppose it. Mrs. Julia Ward Howe wrote:

"In every State where petitions for suffrage and remonstrances against it have been sent to the Legislature the petitioners have always outnumbered the remonstrants, and have generally outnumbered them fifty or a hundred to one. If the suffragists are a minority of women, it should always be remembered that the remonstrants are a much smaller minority."

In Chicago 104 societies, with an enormous aggregate membership of women, petitioned for municipal woman suffrage, while only one very small society of women petitioned against it.

In Massachusetts ever since 1895 the Anti-Suffrage Association has been diligently gathering signatures of women opposed to suffrage, and in twenty years it has only accumulated the names of a little over 36,000 women, according to its own figures. The Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association, at the last meeting of its organization committee, had an enrolment of more than 85,000 women, with seven counties yet to hear from. Not only do these names outnumber those of the anti association more than two to one, but the great bulk of them were obtained in a much shorter time; for it is only of late years that the suffragists have begun to enrol names without a membership fee.

DOUBTFUL NAMES

Mr. Conroy says the suffrage list includes aliens and minors. It has not been customary to enroll either, and if a few such are included, they must be very few. On the other hand, we have nothing but the word of the antis for their claim that all their signers are citizens and over 21 years of age. There is every reason to believe that not all of them are even antis. Mrs. Grace Nevitt, a well-known Boston newspaper woman and a suffragist, says that she was asked to sign as a token of her interest in Red Cross work, and was amazed to find afterward that her name had been enrolled among the antis. She added that she had a great deal of trouble in getting her name taken off their list. Nobody knows how many more such cases there may be.

ANTIS ARE FEW

But, even taking their own figures, the women who protest against suffrage are very few compared with those who ask for it. The widely advertised National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage claims a membership of only about one per cent. of the women of the United States.

The suffrage movement in this country maintains four weekly papers and half a dozen monthlies; the anti-suffrage movement maintains only two monthlies and one quarterly, and all the activities of the women in favor and those opposed are on the same relative scale.

So far as the evidence goes, the vast majority of women in the United States either favor suffrage or do not object to it.

"ORGANIZED OPPOSITION"

Mr. Conroy says: "The woman suffrage movement is the only movement for the extension of the electorate that has ever met with organized opposition from those it was proposed to enfranchise."

Large numbers of agricultural laborers in England were organized within the Conservative party to oppose

their own enfranchisement. Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch says she well remembers attending in England a great political dinner got up by the Conservative party, where the seats at one of the tables were occupied wholly by agricultural laborers. After dinner their spokesman, first touching his forelock with the deferential gesture of a peasant, declared that he and his fellows did not want to vote, and preferred to leave the government of their country to "the gentry."

HAVE ALWAYS BEEN ANTIS

Women did not organize to oppose the equal rights movement in its earlier stages simply because in those days it was looked upon as unwomanly for women to organize or even to belong to a temperance society. But there have always been many women who opposed every new departure.

When a merchant in Saco, Me., first employed a saleswoman, the men boycotted his store, and the women remonstrated with him earnestly on the sin of placing a young woman in a position of such "publicity." When Lucy Stone tried to secure for married women the right to control their own property women asked with scorn, "Do you think I would give myself where I would not give my property?" When Elizabeth Blackwell set out to study medicine some women refused to speak to her; others, passing her on the street, held their skirts aside. When Vassar College was opened, a woman of more than average education voiced the prevailing sentiment when she said: "The very fact that it is called a 'college for women' is enough to condemn it. Of one thing we may be sure: no refined Christian mother will ever send her daughter to Vassar College!"

In eastern countries, where women are kept veiled and shut up in zenanas, women are among the strongest upholders of these traditional restrictions, which they have been taught to think add to their dignity. The Chinese lady is as proud of her small feet as any American anti-suffragist is of her political disabilities. When a progressive Hindoo proposes to educate his little daughter, Pundita Ramabai tells us that often the women of his family threaten to drown themselves.

Every improvement thus far made in the position of women has been brought about, not by a demand from the majority of women, but through the arguments, entreaties and "continual coming" of a persistent few. The demand for suffrage today is far more widespread among women than was the demand for any of these other improvements before they became accomplished facts. A. S. B.

WHOSE FIGHT?

Mr. Conroy says this "is not a fight between men and women. It is a fight between women." If it were only a fight between women, Mr. Conroy would have no excuse for mixing in with it. But it has all along been a struggle between progressive men and women on the one side and conservative men and women on the other.

AS TO STRAW VOTES

Mr. Conroy says that the suffragists in Massachusetts objected to taking a straw vote of the women on the question. The suffragists objected just as strenuously to taking a straw vote of the men.

The only legal way by which suffrage can be granted is by a vote of the men in the form of a constitutional amendment. The opponents were eager to substitute for the constitutional amendment a straw vote—any sort of a straw vote—because it would have no legal validity and would give the women nothing if it went in their favor. They introduced three such bills, one for a straw vote by men alone, one by women alone and one by men and women together. The suffragists opposed them all, and for the same reason—because they did not want to have an ineffective vote substituted for an effective one.

In the Legislature of 1913, to which Mr. Conroy refers, the leaders of the opposition made their main fight for a straw vote by men alone, and most of the members of the Legislature who voted to have a straw vote of any kind voted to make it a straw vote by men alone.

On the only occasion when a State Legislature ever did take an official straw vote of men and women on the question (in Massachusetts in 1895) the leading antis circulated among women pledges to vote no and to get other women to vote no. Apparently they met with poor success, for they changed their tactics, and three days before the close of registration, the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women published an appeal to the women who were opposed not to register and not to vote.

For years these ladies had been declaring that if they were ever given the right to vote upon an important question they should feel it their duty to do so. They preferred to go back upon all their professed principles rather than reveal the fewness of their numbers by standing up to be counted.

The suffragists are said to be afraid to let the women vote upon the question. They are the only people who are not afraid to let the women vote upon it with authority. When the women have suffrage, if the majority do not like it they can at any time repeal it. Yet people are urged to vote against it on the ground that once granted it would be "irrevocable." This certainly implies that, whether women want it now or not, if they once had experience of it, they would never consent to give it up. A. S. B.

NEW KIND OF DEMOCRACY

Mr. Conroy says that it would be "undemocratic" to grant women the ballot while the majority are either opposed or indifferent. Julia Ward Howe wrote in answer to this argument:

"It is one thing to be opposed and quite another to be indifferent. The accepted principle of majority rule is that a question should be decided according to the wish of the majority who care enough about it to express a wish. The indifferent do not count. On the suffrage question, the vast majority of those women who care are in favor. This has been demonstrated wherever the matter has been brought to a test."

Only a few of the most undemocratic State constitutions now count every man who fails to vote for an amendment as voting against it; and these States find themselves practically unable to carry any amendment whatever, no matter how slight the opposition. Everybody except the most extreme reactionaries condemns the principle of counting as opposed all the men who do not care one way or the other; yet this is the principle that the anti-suffragists want to apply in the case of women, and they have the nerve to call it democracy! A. S. B.

SUFFRAGE AND TAXES

Mr. Conroy says: "Every woman taxpayer gets for her taxes what every male taxpayer gets—public improvements and protection of life and property."

But she has no vote as to what kind of public improvements she prefers to have. Mrs. B. B. Valentine, President of the Equal Suffrage League of Virginia, tells how the women of a certain city petitioned for a playground. Their request was refused on the ground that the city treasury was empty. Soon after, a number of merchants petitioned for the installation of ornamental street lanterns, and a large sum was appropriated for the purpose. When Philadelphia was in desperate need of better school accommodations, and these were held up for want of money, the City Fathers voted \$50,000 to entertain the Elks. Mr. Conroy says: "The woman taxpayer is represented by all the male taxpayers of the community, because they cannot represent themselves without representing her." But they can—and often do.

Now, as to "protection of life and property"—she may have a decided choice as to who shall administer that protection, but she has no say about it. In some cities the police notoriously protect crooks and grafters rather than the citizens. The woman must help pay their salaries, whether she is satisfied with their work or not.

"WOMEN AND MINORS"

Mr. Conroy says minors are taxed without being allowed a vote. Minors are not allowed to control their own property, they cannot make a will or a contract, they may be shut up in dark closets and subjected to whipping and other ignominious punishments without trial by jury; but that did not justify the old law which for centuries debarred married women from the control of their property, forbade them to make a will or a contract, and authorized their husbands to lock them up and beat them. Minors are subject to many legal disabilities which it would be grossly unfair to impose on full-grown women.

There are good reasons for excluding aliens and non-residents from suffrage; but, except where a good reason can be shown to the contrary, everybody is entitled to be consulted in regard to his own concerns; and his taxes are one of them. This applies to indirect, as well as direct, taxes, and has nothing to do with a property qualification, as Mr. Conroy unwarrantably implies.

SUFFRAGE STATUS

States Where Women Have Full Suffrage—Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, Utah, Washington, California, Kansas, Oregon, Arizona, Nevada, Montana, Alaska. Presidential and Municipal Suffrage—Illinois. States Which Vote On Question in 1916—Iowa (June 5), South Dakota, West Virginia. State Which Votes On Question in 1917—Arkansas. State Where Amendment Has Passed One Legislature and Must Pass Another—Tennessee.

JERSEY GRANGE
GOES ON RECORD

Patrons Endorse Equal Suffrage
Again Less than Two Months
after Election

The New Jersey State Grange again went on record Dec. 9 at its convention in Atlantic City as endorsing woman suffrage, and the women members pledged themselves to work for the cause. The granges in 20 States, in addition to the National Grange, have recorded their endorsement of woman suffrage.

"I believe that a mother has a right to make the conditions and laws which are to govern her offspring," said Evangelist Minzes at a recent revival service in Des Moines, Ia., "and I believe that the American woman is soon to be given the vote, and when she has it we will drive the saloons out of this country in a short time."

Dr. Lillian J. Martin, professor of psychology at Stanford University, was recently named to succeed Dr. Frank Angell as head of the department of psychology. Dr. Martin will be the first woman ever placed in charge of a department at Stanford.

You can't expect decency, long life or culture on the average wage paid to women workers in this country, \$400 a year.—Dr. Duren Ward, Denver, Col.

ILLINOIS

A budget committee of the Illinois Equal Suffrage Association has been formed, composed of Mrs. John Gray, Mrs. Harriette Taylor Treadwell and Miss Jennie F. W. Johnson.

Mrs. Ella Flagg Young, who has been identified with Chicago's public schools for fifty-three years—the last six years as superintendent—retired last week at the age of 71. Mrs. Young plans to leave for Southern California, where, with Miss Laura Breton, who has been her companion for years, she will establish a home.

PENNSYLVANIA

Mrs. Charles E. Martin of Wayne was elected chairman of the Delaware County Woman Suffrage Executive Committee unanimously at a meeting at Media Dec. 6, succeeding Mrs. J. Claude Bedford, who declined a re-election. Mrs. Bedford, the retiring chairman, is completing her third year as the head of the county organization.

Vice-chairmen were elected as follows: Mrs. J. S. Harvey, of Radnor; Mrs. Joseph Hill Brinton, of Media; Mrs. George E. Brinton, of Thornbury; Mrs. George G. Worrell, Ogden; Mrs. William E. Brown, Chester; Miss Ruth Verlinden, Darby; Mrs. William D. Craven, Jr., Ridley Park; secretary, Mrs. Lewis D. Altmaier, Lansdowne, treasurer, Dr. Ellen MacMurray, Chester.

Mrs. J. Osborne Hopwood of Secane was elected leader for the Second Legislative District, with Mrs. Jesse Holmes of Swarthmore assistant. The delegates decided to begin at once to carry the fight for suffrage into the districts, and candidates for the Legislature will be asked to pledge themselves for woman suffrage.

HOW MRS. BOLTON WAS REPRESENTED

By Ruth Harl

Mrs. Bolton accepted the brightly-colored dodger with reluctance.

"I really am not interested in suffrage," she said, coldly, to the woman with the yellow badge pinned across her breast.

The other smiled patiently. "But we women benefit by the government. Don't you believe we should share in the burdens of running it?"

"I have my home," replied Mrs. Bolton, "and my first duty is there. I will let my husband and sons represent me when there is voting to be done."

"But," persisted the suffragist, "do they represent you?"

Mrs. Bolton's eyes flashed indignantly. "Certainly they represent me. I know they would be glad to vote as I told them to. The influence of a good mother is far better than the ballot."

"I am glad that you have such devoted sons," replied the suffragist. "But I hope that you will be with us some day."

As Mrs. Bolton continued on her way she crumpled the scorned rainbow dodger in her hand and tossed it into the gutter.

In the days that followed, Mrs. Bolton continued along the even tenor of her way. If she thought of the suffragist she had met upon the street corner at all, she thought of her pityingly, as a disappointed woman. And mingled with that pity was a pride in her own home, her husband and two sons. What did she need of the ballot? Her life was filled to overflowing in her home. And besides, if she should ever become interested in a political issue, would not her boys represent her? Was not her mother's influence better than any ballot invented by man? She assured herself that it was.

She had never expected her theory to be put to the test, but when that time did unexpectedly arrive, she had no fear as to its applicability.

An agitation upon the wet and dry question had been sweeping the country, and one morning Mrs. Bolton awoke to find it a vital issue in her home city. So, for the first time in her existence, she took an interest in the coming election.

During the preliminary campaign she said very little, as she felt she had no cause to worry. For would not her boys vote as their mother would wish them to? Knowing that their mother felt the saloon a menace to the city, would they not use their votes to oust the evil? Most assuredly they would. So, in a practical manner, she would demonstrate to those misguided suffragists how unnecessary was the ballot to a good mother and home woman.

At the breakfast table the morning of election day Mrs. Bolton broached her request; assured in her heart that it would be gladly carried out.

"I trust you are all going to vote for a dry town," she began, smiling brightly above the coffee urn.

The three men exchanged surprised glances.

"Why, mother, I didn't know

you were interested in politics," parried Mr. Bolton.

"I never have been before," she admitted. "I have always felt that politics was a business problem that a man understood better than a woman. But the saloon is different. It affects all of us, and I feel that it ought to go."

"And you are asking us to vote against the saloon?" queried her husband.

"Yes. I always knew that if I ever did become interested in some political question, you and the boys would represent me." This was said with great pride.

"Of course we represent you," replied Mr. Bolton, tolerantly. "But don't you think you should leave it to our judgment as to the best manner in which you should be represented?"

Mrs. Bolton looked at her husband dazedly.

"What do you mean—that you are going to vote for the saloons?"

"I have considered the matter carefully, and I believe that is the best thing to do."

"Can't you see, mother," broke in her oldest boy, earnestly, "it means dollars and cents to the city? Think how our taxes would be raised without the license money from the saloons! It's business to keep them."

The hot blood of shame flushed Mrs. Bolton's cheeks, and she turned for comfort to her youngest son, her baby, who that day was to cast his first vote.

"And you, Ralph, you will represent your mother," she begged.

A look of distress came into his face.

"I can't, mother, I can't," he blurted out. "I agree with father. I think the city needs the saloons. If I voted against them, I'd lie. And I couldn't do that. You know I couldn't do that." There was a world of pleading in his voice.

There was a moment's silence; then Mrs. Bolton spoke slowly, as though her mind was feeling its way through a fog:

"No, Ralph, you could not do that; you could not vote a lie. You do just what you feel is the right thing for you to do."

Nothing further was said about the matter. Soon the meal was finished, and Mrs. Bolton was left with her thoughts. At first her mind was a chaos. She could not think. But gradually, as she sped about her work, certain inherent truths began to take shape in the fog of her mind. After all, had she a right to ask them to represent her; to register her convictions at the polls at the expense of their own? Was not democracy an individualistic matter, each individual representing himself, or herself? She recalled Ralph's words: "If I vote against my convictions, I'd lie." His words answered her question. Each individual must hold a vote. In that manner only could all be represented.

Then her thoughts turned to the issue at stake, the abhorred saloon. How she longed to do something! But her hands were tied. And the three she loved most in the world were voting against her. She did not blame them. They were following their own convictions; they viewed the issue from a business side only,

Lecturers, Speakers, Readers,
And Organizers Doing Suffrage Work,
Should Register at the Journal
Desk During the National Convention

The Journal is preparing a directory of lecturers, speakers, readers and organizers so that it can give correct information to the many suffragists who want it. The name and permanent address of every speaker, lecturer, reader, worker and organizer doing suffrage work, as well as a general idea of terms and data concerning previous suffrage work is wanted. Where speakers' dates are arranged through a lecture bureau, the name and address of the bureau should also be included.

This information will be at the service of suffrage organizations and suffragists at all times and without charge, either to organization or speakers, lecturers, readers, organizers or workers. In this connection, however, The Journal wishes to call attention to the value of its Suffrage Exchange, or classified column, to those desiring to work for suffrage. The rate is two cents per word per week.

Speakers, organizers, etc., can fill out information cards during the National Convention at The Woman's Journal desk on the convention floor of the New Willard.

TO hold the ground gained this year and make more converts for 1916 requires a great deal of educational work. "Make this a suffrage Christmas" is the slogan. By using the Journal as a Christmas gift

YOU GIVE SOME FRIEND

52 weeks of stirring suffrage editorials by Alice Stone Blackwell.
All the latest news and facts about the woman movement for a year, and
You make another "efficient suffragist."

AND YOU SAVE

all the bother of Christmas shopping,
No embroidery or fancy work to do,
No worry at the last minute to be sure everything is right; all you need do is write a letter to the Journal.

AND IT WILL COST YOU ONLY ONE DOLLAR

We have an attractive Christmas card which will be mailed on request where the subscription is being used as a gift. Where this card is requested please give, not only the name and address to which they go, but also the name of the person making the gift. Order early.

and it was natural they should do so. But, oh, how the world needed the home in government, too! If the women could only help with their humanitarian viewpoint, how much better the world would be!

She recalled the little suffragist she had met upon the streets so many months ago. How inane the words she had then spoken now seemed to her! The scales had fallen from her eyes at last. She was with them. She was a suffragist. A moment later she turned her steps cityward, a happy smile lighting her face. She was on her way to enroll herself with the soldiers upon the firing line.

Justice, simple justice, is what the world needs.—Lucy Stone.

Woman Under the Law

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Suffrage
Exchange

I AM AN EDUCATED MAN and know suffrage. Am a good writer. My employer will remove me if I write for suffrage, so I want to change occupation. Will some suffragist buy, improve and stock a small farm and sell to me at liberal advance and 8 per cent. interest, nothing down and seven years' time? Then I can and will work, write and speak for suffrage. Will give a good business trade. Address "U," care Woman's Journal. (52)

SUFFRAGE SUPPLIES.

WORKING WOMEN National Woman's Trade Union League stands for self-government in the work shop through organization and also for the enactment of protective legislation. Information given. LIFE AND LABOR working women's magazine 10c a copy Mrs. Raymond Robins, President. Headquarters 126 W. Washington St., Chicago. (40)

HELP US to dispose of our 1000 Suffrage Cook Books. \$1.00 per copy. \$1.10 prepaid, mailed to any point. Free recipe guaranteed. Equal Franchise Federation, 3046 Jenkins Arcade, Pittsburg, Pa. (51)

WANTED—To communicate with woman of resources or those influentially acquainted with woman of resources who is deeply interested in national success of Equal Suffrage, with view of obtaining co-operation in inaugurating unprecedented, self-supporting plan of action. Positively practical, original and exclusive in both conception and execution. References furnished if desired. Correspondence strictly confidential. Address ETHERGRAPH, care of Editor Woman's Journal and Suffrage News, Boston. (51)

THE MAN AND THE WOMAN—A delightful book suffragists should read. Order your copy now. Postpaid \$1.00. Address, H. A. Stewart, Jonifer, Ala. (Mr. Stewart is member Alabama Legislature and friend of equal suffrage.—Editor.) 72

SITUATIONS.

NOTICE! NOTICE!—15,000 men and women will get U. S. Government Jobs this year. \$15.00 month. Vacancies. No layoffs. Short hours. Common education sufficient. "U" only necessary. Write immediately for free list of positions obtainable. Franklin Institution, Dept. 2124, Rochester, N. Y.

EVERYBODY THERE EXCEPT MOTHERS

Jersey Anti-Suffrage Politicians Do Not Want Women's Advice on Schools

In a city of New Jersey, which was peculiarly unwilling to grant women the vote, the Board of Trade has just held a session to consider whether it wishes to recommend the Gary plan of education to its public school system. For its better instruction it invited an expert to come and talk to the men who make up the board.

This board is composed of local business men, a real estate agent, a dealer in coal, a young man recently graduated from high school who has fallen heir to the editorship of the weekly paper. Some women who are principals of grammar schools in the city wanted to hear the expert, too. Some of the mothers of the city whose children will be affected by changes in educational plans also wanted to attend this session. But the Board of Trade, which was almost identical in its personnel with the leaders of the anti-suffrage campaign in that city, decided it did not want the co-operation of either teachers or mothers in order to decide upon the kind of educational plans the city should adopt—it only wanted voters.

COLLEGES ALIVE OVER SUFFRAGE

National League Reports Help that Educational Institutions Gave Recent Campaigns

In connection with the national suffrage convention in Washington this week, was held the annual council meeting of the National College Suffrage League. There were morning and afternoon sessions of the council, and a subscription luncheon at 1 o'clock at which the president, Miss M. Carey Thomas, presided.

The branches of the league are of two classes,—chapters, which are established in colleges and universities, and leagues, which are established in cities. These are not grouped by States, as in the National American Woman Suffrage Association, but are directly connected with the central organization. Not only do the big eastern women's colleges, such as Bryn Mawr, Vassar, Wellesley and Mount Holyoke have chapters of the college league, but they are established also in many of the co-educational universities and colleges, such as Oberlin, Wisconsin and Western Reserve. The full list of college chapters is as follows: Barnard, Bryn Mawr, St. Lawrence, Mount Holyoke, Milwaukee-Downer, Nevada, Oberlin, Ohio State, Radcliffe, Randolph-Macon, Swarthmore, Syracuse, Vanderbilt, Vassar, Wellesley, Wells, Western College, Western Reserve, Wisconsin.

The branch leagues, established in cities throughout the country, whose members are college graduates, are in number about equal to the college chapters. The largest of these is in Boston with 692 members. New York has 400 members, and Washington has the third league in size, with over 200.

The college world as a whole has taken a more prominent stand for suffrage during the present year's campaign than it has hitherto. The association of colle-

FOUR YEARS' GROWTH



The Political Party: "My, how you have grown in four years!"

THE PARTIES AND 1916

When the Republican and Democratic national conventions meet next June, they will find equal suffrage a very different matter from what they did at their last conventions.

At the presidential election of 1912 the States in which women voted controlled 37 electoral votes. At the next presidential election, not counting Iowa, which will vote on the question next June, the States where women now vote control 91 electoral votes, or more than New York and Pennsylvania combined. Six additional States—Arizona, Kansas, Oregon, Illinois, Montana and Nevada—have given women the right to vote for President since the election of 1912. If Iowa enfranchises its women, as the political prophets predict she will do, 13 more electoral votes will have been added to the strength of the cause.

More than a million votes were cast for suffrage in four Eastern States last fall. In the face of the constantly increasing strength of the movement, will either party dare to go before the voters next fall without having given its endorsement?

The Democratic and Republican parties can no longer ignore votes for women. The time has come for them to act.

giate alumnae at its biennial convention held in San Francisco, August 14-19, passed a resolution favoring suffrage by a vote of 247 to 19. President Burton, of Smith College, and President McCracken, of Vassar, have thrown the weight of their influence in its favor, and a majority of the Princeton faculty voted for the suffrage amendment in the recent New Jersey election. Harvard, Columbia, Cornell, the University of Pennsylvania and many other colleges took a prominent part in the campaigns, and a large representation from both students and faculty of those colleges marched in the great processions that were held in Boston, New York City, and Philadelphia.

We can have no real peace without democracy, and no democracy without women.—F. W. Pethick Lawrence.

POLITICAL WOMEN ENDORSE WILSON

Women's Democratic Club Eager for Vote to Help in Party's Campaign

The Women's Democratic Club of New York, though not active politically at this time, is eager to resume activity if President Wilson runs again, says Mrs. John Sherwin Crosby.

"We shall do our best to re-elect him," said Mrs. Crosby after the regular monthly meeting of the club at the Hotel Astor last week. "Wilson has shown himself to be the man of the hour. He has shown himself to be something more than a schoolmaster."

The women of the club have endorsed equal suffrage and want to vote. They know that they could do more to help their party if they had the ballot.

WHAT ABOUT BRITISH WOMEN?

(From an Editorial in the London Herald)

There are those who say: "This is not the time." They said it before war. They say it during the war. They will say it after the war. But when justice is to be done, every time is the time. We used to be told that neither party could make a government measure of a proposal on which both parties were divided within themselves. But now we have a coalition government—precisely the unique condition to which that objection cannot apply!

Principle and opportunity do not often go hand-in-hand. They go hand-in-hand today in this matter of woman suffrage. Our rulers have a unique opportunity to heal a running sore in the body politic, to prevent the recurrence of internal strife; above all, to prove the sincerity of their own constant speech in praise of liberty and self-government. We hear that our honor is pledged to recover the boon of self-government for Belgium—that for that end no sacrifice of our life, happiness, prosperity is too much. Yet our governors do not lift a little finger to confer that boon on our own woman-kind. Are the men of Belgium, then, so much more to us than our own wives and mothers and

daughters and sisters? Thousands of men have been drawn from their homes, have been sent into the fighting-line, have been slain or wounded, in the name of liberty. They went because they believed that their country did indeed stand for liberty. They have fought and suffered and died for the sake of liberty. Were they mistaken? Were they misled? Are they to be betrayed in the hospital and in the grave? Are we after all this effort and sacrifice to go back to the old struggle for the elements of equality at home? The vote is not everything: in the eye of some it is not much; men with votes, though far better off as a whole than voteless women, are tyrannized over and exploited. But in the eyes of those who have no votes, and in the eyes of those who, having them, can combine and direct them to the end desired, the vote is a means to much and a symbol of more. There are many injustices we have to remedy in the British Empire, and the subjection of women is one of them. Let the men and women who have lost those dear to them look to it: if we cannot have justice and liberty and equality at home, our heroic dead will have died in vain.

LAST LAUGHS

"My younger daughter," said Mrs. Twickembury, "is very talented. She can sing solos, duets, triplets, or quadrooms."

Pessimist: "You haven't had all that you wanted in life, have you?" Optimist: "No; but I haven't had all that I didn't want, either."—Brooklyn Life.

"The car I use today I've been using steadily for six years. It has taken me to my office in town and back, and it hasn't cost me one cent for repairs yet." "What a record! What car is it?" "The street car."—Boston Transcript.

As a truly polite nation the French lead the world. A Paris dentist's servant opened the door to a woe-begone patient. "And who, monsieur," he queried in a tender tone, "shall I have the misery of announcing?"

The Angel

"Woman's an angel,
Peerless, divine;
Man is her servant,
Home is her shrine."

John Flaners always spoke these words

On hearing people say
That woman's present status
Might be changed in any way.
But when you pinned him down
and asked

If he used words as you did,
You found that from the angel
class
Some women were excluded.

First: those who disagreed with him
On theories or events.
Were not divine or peerless,
They were "sexless termagants."
All girls who worked in factories
He did not quite condemn,
But he called them "restless
drudges"
And bestowed no shrine on them.

In fact, the only ones who came
Within the angel state
Were mild, handsome, sheltered
women
Not much over twenty-eight.
Yet certainly he would have made
A most tremendous fuss
If you had asked him to amend
His little statement thus:
"Woman's an angel,
Home is her shrine.
(This only applies to
One woman in nine)."

—Alice Duer Miller in N. Y. Tribune.

On November 2d, the very day when the voters of the Empire State were relegating its women to another two-year struggle for political liberty, the metropolitan daily papers announced that ground had just been broken on the banks of the Hudson River at 93rd Street and Riverside Drive for a heroic statue of Joan of Arc.

"Convert the women and get your election district leaders to become acquainted with the election district leaders of the different parties," was the advice which Mrs. Raymond Brown gave to the members of the William Lloyd Garrison Equal Rights Association at a meeting last week at the home of Mrs. Henry Villard in New York City. "We have found in watching

at the polls that while the men said they were keeping us out of politics, we were there, and they really liked it."

Turkish women are attaining a greater degree of freedom during the war. The Turkish ministry of posts, telegraphs and telephones announces that women are to be employed in the money order departments of the postoffices. They must be not less than 17 years old and unmarried. Damascus reports the opening of a girls' school.

It is reasonable to infer that the demand of men and women voters can bring about better conditions than the vote of one sex alone.—Vice-President Marshall.